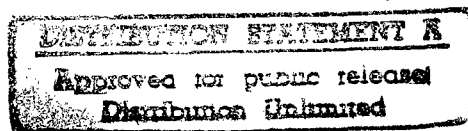


JPRS-NEA-91-045
9 AUGUST 1991



JPRS Report



Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

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NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA 22161

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

JPRS-NEA-91-045

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International Affairs

U.S. 'New World Order' Seen Fundamentally Anti-Muslim

Anti-New Order Countries' Alliance Urged

91AS1167A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
29 Jun 91 p 7

[Article by Aziz-Ud-Din Ahmad: "The Price of American Friendship"]

[Text] It would have been preposterous on the part of Waseem Sajjad to imagine that he could cajole the U.S. Administration to release the \$550m aid to Pakistan that has recently been frozen, or the \$230m instalment that was in the pipeline for this year. The signals already being received from the U.S. would preclude wishful thinking of this sort. It was therefore sensible on his part to have understated the purpose of his five-day mission. He was going, he had said, not to seek the resumption of aid, but to revive the deteriorating relations with the U.S. What he has claimed to have achieved as a result of his visit, however, is rather tenuous. "We succeeded in achieving what we set out to do," he is reported to have said, "that was the warming up of strained relations between the U.S. and Pakistan. Indications are that the Waseem Sajjad mission failed to achieve this. A section of Pakistani Press has referred to the Lagomarsino Amendment, which proposes to extend the linkage of U.S. aid with a nuclear freeze in the case of India also, ascribing the amendment to the efforts of the mission and expressing jubilation over it. Pakistan and India, it is being claimed, have been treated equally for the first time and that India too would have to suffer if she continues with her nuclear programme. Even a seasoned diplomat like Jamshed Marker has hailed the Lagomarsino Amendment as a moral and principled victory for Pakistan for the regional concept of resolving nuclear proliferation issue has been accepted, he believes. Whether this is all simple complacency or a deliberate effort to misinform public opinion, one wonders.

The fact is that the Pakistani delegation was given a little less than ordinary reception. A meeting with Dan Quale is a matter of no great eclat these days in the U.S. and the Secretary of State James Baker agreed to give audience to the delegation only when it was about to leave. The American officials are reported to have told the delegation in no uncertain terms that Pakistan will have to roll back its nuclear programme to its pre-April 1990 position before it can hope to receive American aid.

The warming up of relations between the U.S. and Pakistan, claimed by Waseem Sajjad as his achievement, has failed to express itself in the area at present crucial for Pakistan. Where does it express itself, if it has actually taken place? Some people refer to the recent changes in the top military hierarchy where an irritant with a potential to continue has been removed to the

satisfaction of the American side to be replaced by someone whom the Western Media refer to as pro-West.

Relations between America and a Third World country cannot warm up unless the smaller country agrees to conform to the U.S. global strategy. There is always a quid pro quo in dealings between a superpower and a country like Pakistan, more so when the superpower is a highly commercialised country like America where it is inconceivable to acquire anything without paying for it. If Pakistan asks for aid, economic or military, it must agree to give something in return. The American Administration is at present busy giving shape to its idea of a New World Order and a country must fit into it if it wants cordial relations with the U.S. There are two regions where the American policy may not be easily acceptable to the people of Pakistan, and the establishment would face popular opposition if it goes against what people regard to be their national interests. These regions are South Asia and the Middle East. In South Asia, the New World Order demands acceptance of Indian hegemony and in the Middle East, that of Israel. Warming up of relations between the U.S. and Pakistan predicates acceptance of this demand by Pakistan.

Americans have decided to cut down their military expenses and divert their resources to the much-needed economic development so that they might be able to compete, something that the U.S. economy has increasingly failed to do. First it was Japan which started knocking out America, not only from the world market but from the American market itself. Now there are a number of other countries producing cheaper goods than those turned out by American industry.

How is the world to be managed if the U.S. was to cut down its military budget and reduce its military presence abroad? The answer is the New World Order. Hand over the charge of the various regions of the world to local surrogates who would order smaller countries around and police the region for the Americans. The American military presence would be needed only when things go out of the control of the local policeman. Japan could play this role in South-East Asia, Israel in the Middle East and India in South Asia. Americans could thus retain their imperial status at much smaller cost.

Americans have already come to terms with the idea of India playing the leadership role in the region. No eyebrows were raised in the U.S. when the Indians tested their nuclear device and the U.S. acquiesced in the Indian military intervention in Sri Lanka aimed at suppressing the Tamil guerrillas. Now Americans would like Pakistan to agree to India playing the role of the regional policeman. Will India accept the role of an American surrogate? In the bipolar world of yesterday, India pursued a policy of neutrality between the power blocs and it paid off as far as its national interests were concerned. Being a large country that could not be ignored it was pampered by both the camps. But things being different now, the Indian leadership could jump at the opportunity of being made an American surrogate

and assuming the U.S. mantle in the region. It is another matter that it would be thus sacrificing the long-term interests of the Indian people for immediate gains. But there are more chances that the Indian leadership would accept the bait, deprived as it is of the vision the earlier generation sometimes possessed.

The American plan envisages the containment of the armies of smaller countries so that the surrogate could dictate to them with impunity. In the Middle East, the Arabs and the Iranians must not be allowed to develop strong armies, or possess weapons that could threaten Israel. In South Asia, Pakistan must not be allowed to develop nuclear arms. American officials are now giving vent publicly to criticism of what they regard as involvement of the Pakistan army in Kashmir and are accusing it of pursuing a military solution of the Afghan problem.

The New World Order does not allow any country in the Third World except the American surrogates to possess nuclear weapons. South Africa, Israel and India would thus be allowed to keep them on the sly and no questions asked. But Iran or an Arab country or Pakistan would be debarred from possessing such an arsenal. They would have to renounce the nuclear option if they want to have warm relations with the U.S. The recent American demand that Pakistan's nuclear programme be rolled back to its pre-April 1990 level is based on the perception by U.S. intelligence that the capacity of the Kahuta Atomic Plant was only 5 per cent of what it is now before that date and that it possesses 90 per cent capacity to enrich plutonium now, enough for a nuclear bomb. Warming up of relations between the U.S. and Pakistan, as claimed by the Senate chairman, is hardly possible before Pakistan opens up Kahuta for American observation. Is the establishment ready to pay the high price for purchasing American good will?

There is nothing to offer solace to Pakistan in the Lagomarsino Amendment which ties aid to India with the Pressler Amendment. In the first instance, India received very little U.S. aid as compared to Pakistan. This year it was scheduled to get \$22 million only, food aid worth \$76 million not coming under the mischief of the Amendment. India could refuse U.S. aid and decide to flout curbs on its nuclear programme with impunity.

The Lagomarsino Amendment, which has yet to be passed by the Senate and approved by the president before it becomes operative, has inequity built into it, as has already been pointed out. India is required to stop possessing any additional nuclear explosive devices in 1992-93, while Pakistan is to scrap its weapons capability totally. It is a military imbalance frozen permanently in India's favour—and within a nuclear context, as a perceptive commentator has recently put it. The Amendment, ascribed by some to the astute statesmanship of the Pakistani delegation thus tends to make Indian nuclear monopoly in South Asia a lasting affair.

The New World Order requires Pakistan to recognise Israel, not only as a legitimate entity but also as the

arbiter of affairs of the Middle East. Could any government in Pakistan agree to recognise the supremacy of Israel and alienate Pakistan from the Arab people without inviting the wrath of the whole nations? Friendship with the Muslim world has always been declared as a cornerstone of our foreign policy. Are we going to make a basic change in our foreign policy direction in order to woo the U.S.?

True that we need to cut our defence expenses in order to spend more on education, health and social development but this must not lead us to change our priorities vis-a-vis the Muslim world, which constitutes a significant portion of the Third World. Similarly, we must never agree to become satellites of a regional surrogate of the U.S. Good relations with India, yes, but the people of Pakistan would never agree to become part of an order which debars them from supporting the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people. We must strive to have good relations with all neighbouring countries and not indulge in jingoism, but the relations must be on an equal footing.

There are strong lobbies in Pakistan which would advocate warming up of relations with the U.S. at the expense of relations with the Arab world or the Kashmiri people. But if we yield to their pressure we would be bartering away our national interests and lose friends in the bargain.

We will have to decide, and pretty soon, whether we are going to live as a sovereign nation or lose our right to decide for ourselves in the process of going to defy hegemonism and diktat inherent in the so-called New World Order. Some are already doing it. We must develop closer relations with them and work out common strategy to deal with the sole superpower and its surrogates. Iran, some Arab countries and China already oppose American blueprints to police the world. Other countries of the Third World are going to join them soon. It is with them that we must stand if we opt for preserving our sovereignty.

'New World Order' is 'Old Imperialism'

91AS1167B Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jun 91 p 11

[Article by Khalid Mahmud Arif: "The Emerging New World Order"]

[Text] With the Gulf Arab states recovering from the shock and cost of war, Kuwait's freedom restored, the western allies feeling elated, Iraq humbled and a danger to the military supremacy of Israel abated, the United States of America has found the international climate propitious for proposing a vaguely defined New World Order. The ambiguity provides an element of flexibility to smoothen the rough edges of the proposed scheme to make it palatable, functional and saleable.

The concept is old. So is the name. The recorded history is replete with examples in which powerful nations have used their influence and authority in shaping the density

of mankind to suit their own convenience and whims. In the process the weaker nations often became scapegoats.

The rise and fall of nations is not a new phenomenon. It has always been an endemic reality in the game of power. The every-changing power pattern reminds mankind of the frailty of the human structure and indeed of the world itself. The once powerful Roman Empire has disintegrated. The Ottoman Empire no longer exists. The sun has set on the once mighty British Empire. Many colonial powers of the yester era are second or third rate countries today. Gone is the heyday of the Czars of Russia, the Kaiser of Germany and the Shahs of Persia. The world has recently witnessed the collapse of the socialist structure in East Europe. One superpower is presently slipping down the power ladder. The other would be well advised to digest historic realities before arrogance starts clouding its vision.

A quirk in history brought the boisterous soldier-statesman Theodore Roosevelt to the White House in America in 1901. He put America on the path of playing a dominant international role in the world affairs. Even then America joined the First World War not earlier than 1917. In the Second World War President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, [spelling as published] a relative of Theodore Roosevelt, made his country join the war effort only when the Japanese attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour in Hawaii in December 1941. America is deeply conscious of its short history and rapid rise to power. Many Americans give an impression as if the world was born with the discovery of their country.

The U.S. approach on world affairs is essentially governed by her geostrategic compulsions. Two mighty oceans protect America's eastern and western shores. Canada in her north and the countries in South America do not pose a danger to her security. The only country which had the means to reach out her cities through long-range missiles is itself in trouble. The decline of the Soviet power has made American security less vulnerable in the foreseeable future. The American soldiers have died in wars in Europe, Asia and elsewhere, but the people of America have not seen the horrors of war on their own mainland. Their cities and their communication and industrial infrastructure have never been destroyed.

On the contrary the war efforts have usually helped to boost-up American industrial production and economic capacity. The local American conflicts have been wars of aggression to bring in line an erring neighbour to follow her own viewpoint. The victims of the Monroe Doctrine were the tiny neighbours of the United States of America—Cuba, Panama, Nicaragua and Grenada etc.

The insularity of the American scene makes that country less sensitive to the security concerns of the weak nations. If the Monroe Doctrine is practised in America, some regional bully elsewhere could adopt a similar approach towards its small neighbours. It matters little to the policy

makers in Washington if such an attempt smells of hegemonic designs. They will feel concerned only if in the process of the U.S. interests get hurt. The New World Order recipe should be seen in this perspective.

The world indeed needs a reappraisal of the present policies. Such a change is required in a different field. We need to remove the prevailing inequalities between the rich and the poor states. The affluent countries can do a lot to ameliorate the sufferings of the poorer countries. The trade barriers should end, the debt burden should be reduced, the transfer of technology should be liberal and meaningful, the regional bullies should be censured, the principle of sovereign equality of nations should be observed in letter and spirit, the North-South dialogue should evolve a mutually acceptable agreement and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter should be observed. A New World Order based on such parameters would be a welcome development.

The U.S. initiative to regulate the induction of arms in the Middle-East would be fair per se if it took into consideration the genuine security needs of all the affected countries and the quantum and quality of forces already held by them. Besides, many others, the recent Iraqi defeat has produced two effects. One, Iraq has lost the means to pose a military threat to its neighbours—at least in foreseeable future. Two, Israel—already a strong regional military power—has further enhanced its defensive and offensive capability. While a threat to her security has substantially diminished she now has added potential to pose a threat to her neighbours. The region is thus unstable. To perpetuate a status quo through a regime of regulated arms sales to the area would amount to yielding to the arrogance of Israel. Such a step would be neither fair nor just and is likely to be counter productive in the long run. The projected "freeze now ban later" proposal relating to the future sale of arms to the Middle East smells of Pax Americana. Does it mean the appointment of Israel as a watchdog to protect the American interests in the region? If so, despite the display of all her might and spite in the Middle East, the United States would find the going rough.

An attempt to build up the security of Israel on the insecurity of her antagonist Arab neighbours is misconceived and impractical. No durable peace in the Middle East can be achieved based on such a faulty logic. America has the capacity to get a fair and equitable peace treaty negotiated. She lacks the political will to do so. Over the decades, the Israeli tail has displayed a remarkable capacity to wag the American dog. A few million American Jews have long played ducks and drakes with the whole American nation.

Every American President has tried to woo this lobby. President Bush finds himself in a fix. For him a second term election victory in 1992 is more important than a Middle East peace treaty. He can ill-afford to sacrifice the Jewish voters to merely please the Arabs. The much publicised recent Baker shuttles to the Middle East were

public relationing efforts. These were meant to assuage the Arab feelings at a time when they were enraged. Baker took pains to assure Israel that America would not compromise her position. Indirectly, it encouraged her to adopt a hard negotiating stance. The post-Gulf war euphoria may soon be sidelined. The approach of the presidential election in America will preclude a serious dialogue on the Middle-East issue. The post-election administration will pick up the threads thereafter. By that time the Gulf war would be an old story. For the present, the American goals have been achieved in the Persian Gulf region. The success was made possible by a variety of favourable factors—the international climate, firm leadership, deliberate planning and violent execution by the U.S. policy makers.

Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev facing internal turmoil needed western-support to bail him out of his difficulties. The Soviet Union's acquiescence to the U.S. designs was thus achieved. Britain, the mother of the Balfour Declaration, paid to the U.S. the debt of gratitude of the Falklands war. France showed a gush of independence before supporting America. China was under U.S. pressure. The possibility of a veto averted, it was not difficult for America to obtain a majority decision in the Security Council, which mysteriously surrendered its own power and authority to her to interpret the Security Council resolutions at will and conduct military operations as she considered best. Such a display of impotence was unworthy of the world body and its Secretary General.

On the diplomatic front confusion prevails. There are indications that the U.S. tricked Iraq into a war. April Glaspie reportedly told Saddam that the U.S. had "no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflict." The State Department forced her into silence till the war was over. If Iraq had leaked out a "doctored version" of the Glaspie-Saddam conversation as alleged by Washington, America has maintained a studied silence on the issue. Washington then played a double game. Having allegedly encouraged Iraq to aggress, it caused panic in the Gulf Arab states by suggesting that their security was in a grave danger. The ground was set for a military action.

Some economic analysts claim that America needed a war to avert a looming recession. The real estate prices in America were down by 25 to 40 per cent. The auto industry had lay offs. Cars could be purchased on credit without a down payment. The hotel and tourist industry faced a slump. The Eastern Airlines became bankrupt. The large Massey and May Stores have folded up. The states and cities have laid off workers for reasons of economy. 200,000 teachers and 8,000 sanitary workers have lost their jobs in New York city alone.

The United States needed enhanced industrial activity to cause the economy to bounce back. The U.S. defence industry and the civil sector have gained from the Iraq war. Most of the war money was donated by Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Japan and Germany.

The military were significant. The war was a technology demonstrator in which weapons and weapon systems were tested. Valuable combat experience was gained. This will help to remove weaknesses. The military learnt about the peculiarities of the desert warfare and the problems of movement and logistics in a desert environment. The short war has demonstrated the effectiveness of a well conceived and aggressively implemented psychological warfare effort. The importance of the electronic and print media was highlighted. The television has brought the battlefield to the drawing rooms. The element of propaganda notwithstanding, the news coverage was done with laudable speed and enviable expertise. This was despite the censorship imposed by both the sides.

The Iraq war was one sided in which the vanquished was in a no win situation. That Iraq would be defeated comprehensively was obvious from day one. I said so in a programme telecast by the Pakistan Television on 19 February. Why did Iraq not withdraw from Kuwait defies logic.

Iraq's annexation of Kuwait was an unjust an indefensible act. It gave America an opportunity to exploit the situation and achieve her aims in the Gulf region. As a consequence she has established her military presence in the region on a permanent basis. She is now better placed to protect the economic interests of the west. She would also influence the oil prices and attempt to destroy the oil cartel.

The U.S. military presence in the Gulf region raises the question of the sovereignty of states and their security. Would the U.S. base be one day used to aggress against another country is a question which cannot be dismissed lightly. Is a pattern of neo-colonialism being imposed? Would the people of the area accept such a system for long? The era of insecurity in the Gulf region is not yet over.

For the United States the Iraq war was a part of a greater design. President Bush had called it "a just war." In fact it was just a war to impose a new world order. The UN mandate to liberate Kuwait was misused to destroy Iraq militarily, economically and industrially (whatever she possessed). 150,000 to 200,000 Iraqi casualties at the cost of an allied loss of just one hundred lives discloses the brutality of the effort. It was manslaughter pure and simple.

The Gulf war has created euphoria in the west. The Iraqi defeat—a minor military success—has been projected as a major victory by the well orchestrated Western media. Its political fallout is greater. The United States has taken upon itself to determine what is good and needed by the world in general and the Middle East in particular. The decline of the Soviet power and the collapse in East Europe has given an air of added confidence to America. For the present the U.S. supremacy is a fact of life. For a while the world will have to live with it.

The prevailing power equilibrium will change. Soon Japan, Germany and Europe would demand their share of power. China would do so in a more subtle way. It would be a mistake to write off the Soviet Union. She remains a military giant though with weak economy. Unless she disintegrates from within, she retains the ability to stage a comeback. Even the western countries would like the Soviet Union to overcome her difficulties to prevent them from living under the perpetual shadow of one unipolar giant.

U.S. Antinuclear Efforts To Accelerate

91AS1167C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
29 Jun 91 p 6

[Article by Khalid Akhtar: "Denuclearization: Will It Pay Pakistan"]

[Text] As the dust on Wasim Sajjad delegations' visit to the U.S. has settled down, it is time to determine the success or failure of the most important official sojourn to Uncle Sam's country.

The official quarters have regarded the outcome as a satisfying one. But the political circles have taken the opposite view. The truth, as a matter of fact, lies between the two.

To reach any conclusion, it should be first analysed as to why in the first place the visit to the U.S. was undertaken. What made it compelling for Islamabad to try to remove the U.S. suspicions on Pakistan's nuclear programme? Has the stoppage of the flow of the mighty dollar or the crucial spares for military hardware started hurting Islamabad deeply?

The U.S. has been suspicious of Pakistan's nuclear programme right from the word go. But it had learned to live with it till recently when it refused to tolerate it any longer, confronting Islamabad with a dilemma and challenge how to survive without U.S. help.

This sudden change of colour by Washington upset Islamabad. With the U.S. interest already waned in Afghanistan, and Pakistan showing limited capacity to play a meaningful role in the Gulf war, Islamabad seemed to have exhausted its ability to offer Washington any acceptable quid pro quo to make the latter relent on its nuclear programme.

Pakistan's relations with the U.S., though remaining under criticism all the time, have nonetheless been a cornerstone of Islamabad's foreign policy. Such relationships are not changed overnight, barring, of course, a revolution as it happened in the case of Iran.

So Islamabad was scarcely ready for any big change in its relations with the U.S. notwithstanding the popular call to that effect. The U.S. knew this all too well, and proceeded to systematically tighten the screw on Islamabad. Washington has probably had a good idea about how far Islamabad could go in resisting U.S. pressure.

Nawaz Sharif entered office on a stubborn note, cold-shouldering the all-pervasive Robert B. Oakley, the U.S. envoy, now and then. But he could not maintain this posture for long, and soon there was a visible change in his tone while talking about America: "We are not seeking aid, but we value U.S. friendship," became a watchword of his policy statements vis-a-vis the U.S.

The floating of the proposal of a five-nation moot on the nuclear issue to resolve it on a regional basis, was an intelligent move on the part of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. And this more than anything else brought some flexibility in the U.S. attitude towards the visiting Pakistani delegation. (Earlier reports had said that the U.S. was reluctant to receive the Pakistani delegation.) The proposal certainly gave Pakistan something to talk about and attract the American attention.

The Soviet and the Chinese endorsement of this proposal brought another significant diplomatic gain to Islamabad. India for once was caught on the wrong foot and appeared isolated on the nuclear issue. New Delhi, already beset by internal problems, did not know how to respond, and the manner it finally responded was sluggish, to say the least.

The U.S. has also welcomed the Pakistani proposal. But this is not enough. The question is whether it is prepared to appreciate Pakistan's security concerns. No Pakistani proposal is going to cut any ice in the U.S. unless the Pentagon views Pakistan's nuclear programme in the background of the peculiar security environment in which the latter finds itself. Another aspect of the situation is no less important. The Soviets and the Chinese could review their position on the Pakistani proposal any time in view of the rapidly changing situation around the globe.

The immediate outcome of the Pakistani proposal has been the extension of the Pressler Amendment to India as well, but with some difference. India has been asked not to make any addition to its nuclear stockpile. New Delhi exploded a nuclear device way back in 1974. Since then, it has relentlessly pursued its nuclear programme and it could be safely said that India by now must have ready-made material for many nuclear bombs.

Islamabad has viewed the application of the Pressler Amendment to India as a diplomatic victory for Pakistan. New Delhi itself has taken the U.S. decision as a great rebuff. However, all said and done, the fact remains that the U.S. decision has left India with a clear and massive advantage over Pakistan.

Wasim Sajjad, chairman of the senate and leader of the Pakistani delegation to the United States, while describing his visit as a success, has said that the most significant outcome of his talks in the States has been that the two sides have agreed to 'isolate' the nuclear issue and their differences on it will not affect their over-all relationship.

It cannot be helped saying that the Senate chairman, with all his wisdom, is indulging in oversimplifications. The U.S. has isolated the nuclear issue insofar as its ties with Israel—and to some extent with India—are concerned. And this is visible to all. The massive U.S. assistance to Israel has continued despite the Jewish entity's elaborate nuclear programme. Robert B. Oakley said openly in Lahore sometime back that the Israeli nuclear programme was an exception for the U.S.

There is hardly any evidence to suggest that the U.S. has agreed to 'isolate' the nuclear issue in its dealings with Pakistan. And even if the U.S. has given an assurance to that effect, it certainly has no substance. Islamabad will be making the biggest blunder if it thinks that the U.S., in the changed situation, will at any stage sidetrack the nuclear issue while conducting its relations with Pakistan.

There are conflicting views about Nawaz Sharif's five-nation moot proposal on the nuclear issue. The first view is that it was sensible on Islamabad's part to have taken the initiative and thrown the ball in the U.S. court and refused to be singled out on the nuclear issue. India has already felt hurt by the proposal and it can be further embarrassed on the matter in future.

The other view is that Pakistan should have quietly pursued its nuclear programme, which enjoyed a national consensus, and avoided raising the issue itself or making a proposal on it, which could take any shape in future. Small states like Pakistan always run the risk of being out manoeuvred on the political cheeseboard of international diplomacy.

It is generally assumed that two considerations weighed heavily with Islamabad in seeking to rehabilitate its special relationship with the U.S. First, the desperate need of foreign assistance to revive the country's crumbling economy. Second, and this is far more important to meet the pressing demands of the Air Force and Navy, which remain largely dependent on foreign supplies.

No matter how compelling the reasons to knock at Uncle Sam's door, the fact remains that Pakistan's proposal could be misunderstood by Washington as a source of weakness on Islamabad's part. This could expose Pakistan to further U.S. manoeuvrings. Already, there are speculations and rumours that the government is somewhat 'softening' its position on the nuclear issue. The U.S. onslaught on Pakistan's nuclear programme has probably yet to come. Islamabad better be prepared for it.

Troops in Saudi Arabia 'Part of Plot'

91AS1167D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
2 Jul 91 p 6

[Text] Quoting Pentagon sources, our Special Correspondent in Washington discloses that 30,000 American troops are to be stationed in Saudi Arabia along with 25 Stealth bombers and other sophisticated war equipment. This package deal between Saudi Arabia and the United States is part of the Gulf 'security system' and is

expected to remain effective indefinitely. This should not come as a surprise to anybody. For our part, we have always been crying ourselves hoarse that the Americans were not likely to pull out of the Middle East in a hurry and that is exactly what the plot reveals as it thickens nauseatingly. We have mentioned before that after the jolt given to them by the late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia's oil embargo against the West in 1974, the yanks were looking for an excuse—any excuse—to establish and maintain a foothold in the Middle East and that is exactly what Saddam's perfidy against a smaller and weaker neighbour provided them with.

Now, the Americans are sitting pretty. They have killed two birds with one stone. Their more than considerable military presence in the Middle East ensures that nobody again pulls off something a la Faisal against them oilwise and secondly, they will see to it that their protegee, Israel, is eventually installed as a policeman of the Middle East and this they will do sooner than later. To make assurance of attaining their objective doubly sure, they do have their military presence in the area. As a very first step, we feel that with the aid of Egypt and Saudi Arabia, they will convene a grand Middle East Conference where Saudis will most readily recognise Israel.

Moreover, it is no secret that the Zionist are in India training that country's pilots in the art of pinpoint bombing with an eye on destroying our nuclear facility at Kahuta. The entire U.S. plan is aimed against the Muslim countries.

Of the Muslim countries, the present administration in Saudi Arabia is proving to be the most imprudent. If it had not provided a foothold to the Americans, clouds of apprehension and uncertainty would not have been so darkly blanketing Middle Eastern skies today. History proves beyond doubt that U.S. military presence has never done any people any good. However, it is no use lamenting what the Saudis have done. It is too late for that now. The Muslims of the world have to unite if they are to escape a nemesis which will make them a shocking example for the rest of the world. Remember, eternal vigilance is the price of freedom.

BCCI Closure 'Exploitative Imperialism'

91AS1167E Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
11 Jul 91 pp 1, 10

[Article by A.B.S. Jafri: "BCCI Hijacking Part of the Bigger Plot"]

[Text] There is an infinite deal more to the plunder of BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] than the bank robbery that it so manifestly is. It is another big leap in the conspiracy to ditch the oil-rich Arabs, the Muslims in general and also the Third World as a direct consequence.

Who says exploitative imperialism is dead? Don't you see it alive and kicking? Are they not back in the Middle East? Is it not 1919 now instead of 1991?

Iraq's Saddam was used in a bid to bring Iran down. That Saddam didn't quite succeed is another matter. But the plot did drain Iran's wealth and blood. Also the Arab wealth and blood. So long as it was Muslim blood on both sides, it was O.K. Then, Saddam was turned on Kuwait. That plot again was aimed at the self-same purpose: to bleed the rich Muslims white, to wound them where it hurts most, to literally conquer their territory, to return to rich Middle East with military power. The West's (or to be exact, the Zionists') control over Arab destiny is just about complete. Only a few details remain.

Now, those details. After the Gulf war, the picture's salient features are: the United States has collected some 54 billion dollars in hard cash from the Saudis and Kuwaitis. Impartial agencies say the bill for the Gulf War should not exceed 14 billion. That means some 40 billion dollars have been collected by the U.S. in excess. But that's between the helpless Arabs and their protector the United States who, goodness knows, couldn't care less about the Arabs because it is now Israel by another name.

The line in fine print on the Gulf War balance sheet is: the Saudis and the Kuwaitis have been reduced to borrowing. At this rate, it may be a matter of time when they have a bowl in hand. The reason for this kind of misgiving is that the Arabs no longer control their oil wealth. The Americans are going to help them in selling the Arab oil to the best advantage of the West! [text missing]

Most staff had immediate financial worries, having had their June salaries paid into now frozen accounts.

A BCCI Investors' Support Group was set up in Bradford yesterday to help those who had accounts with bank. Mr. Aurangzeb Iqbal, a Pakistani solicitor who is organising the group, said: "The Bradford Asian business community find itself in a very sad state. We need to have a very effective lobbying group and we want to see what can be salvaged." The meeting was also attended by Ajaz Choudhary, manager of the Leeds branch of BCCI. He said: "The bank was solvent. It is a conspiracy against Asian people. Their prosperity was not acceptable to the Jews of this country.

More tales of hardship come from the Asian community in Bradford where Pakistanis are concentrated. Mohammad Talib, a Pakistani who owns a clothing and fabric shop, found his finances stopped. He cannot order from his suppliers or pay his staff because his account with BCCI is frozen. Mr. Talib set up the Jamil Cloth house in Bradford some 16 years ago. His plight is typical of many Asians who banked with BCCI. He said: "We must get help from the government very soon or

things will get desperate. John Major is the prime minister, he should be doing something. They (Conservative Party) believe in small businesses and should come out with a plan to save us."

Mohammad Talib came from Pakistan in 1963, had banked like other Pakistanis with BCCI for almost a decade. "We went to them because they were prepared to help us" he said. "They spoke our language, Urdu, and we were able to get loans easily and very quickly" he tearfully concluded.

It is now revealed that Price Waterhouse, the auditors of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International told the Bank of England that there was evidence of fraud in one of the BCCI's Cayman Island subsidiaries four years ago. They have right to pass on such a confidential information to the Bank of England but not obliged to do so. It is strange that it is decided to inform the Bank.

The Bank of England is facing fresh demands from those MPs [members of Parliament] who depend on ethnic vote for urgent action to reserve investors hit by the closure of BCCI. Keith Vaz, Labour MP, is leading a delegation to Governor Robin Leigh-Pemberton to ask if all the avenues have been explored in the search for a solution. MPs are demanding an inquiry into the affairs of the BCCI. Keith Vaz said the Bank of England was secretly involved in restructuring the BCCI with Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, the leading shareholder. "Someone at the Bank has been negligent along the way" he concluded.

BCCI Closure Exemplifies 'Western Justice'

91AS1167F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
11 Jul 91 pp 1, 9

[Article by Argus: "This Is a Massacre of Innocents"]

[Text] Why has lightning struck the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International]? Of course, the Bank of England is no novice in the business. They cannot be assumed to be so innocent as not to know that one very simple, easy and inexpensive way to get rid of something you don't want around is: give the dog a bad name and hang it. Then, if there is some hue and cry, pretend you are not listening. And tomorrow is another day, anyway.

All banking is a predatory business up to a point. Multinational banking is the game of sharks. Sharp dealing is no crime. That's what it's all about, a seasoned insider would admit without batting an eyelid. You are seldom punished for shady deals. But fingers which remain clean all the time might end up with burns and boils.

What can be more cynical business than holding money for known dictators, tyrants, gunrunners, drug dealers. Every dictator—military or civvy—dethroned monarch, ousted swindler, is welcome to Swiss banking. Some of the biggest bankers thrive on some of the dirtiest money: loot and plunder. Where is Batista's, or Marcos' or

Duvalier's, or the Persian's Shah money? In the best and biggest of the banking houses of Europe and U.S.!

Human imagination cannot think of more tarnished money because it has been looted from the poorest and the most wretched of people on earth. This is not immoral banking. No laws are seen to be violated in this stark violation of all decencies. This, then, is the character of those who have made a target of the BCCI for the last so many years. When the judges be steeped in vice, how is one to honour their verdict on issues of morality or legality? In the United States the BCCI was hounded out in a manner which was blatantly unfair, if not downright perverse. BCCI was accused and convicted of laundering drug money. No use wasting time arguing the point. All right, BCCI was guilty. You punished it to your spleen's content. The BCCI is no more in the U.S. But billions of drug money is. It is increasing by the split second. Who is laundering it now? Not the BCCI. The obvious answer is the U.S. banks, who else? Now you see, the one reason for going for the BCCI. One among several soon to be explained.

The banking business in the West is every bit inspired and controlled by shylockian ethos. In its eyes, the BCCI was fatally flawed on a minimum of four counts:

- 1) It was a Third World enterprise, capable of showing a candle to the First World banking genii. That was intolerable;
- 2) it was a Muslim enterprise. Muslims are not supposed to enter the forbidden field of Western banking;
- 3) it was an Arab-financed institution, and flourishing. A rankling thorn in the Zionist side; and,
- 4) it was atrociously smart, efficient and profitable.

As far as the Zionist dominated money market is concerned, it is an absolutely no-go area for Muslims, Arabs, Third World people, particularly Pakistanis. The BCCI would have been allowed to survive if it was clumsy, inefficient, cringing, servile, a true copy of the picture of the Third World that the rich in the West love to see and then heap hate on. BCCI's capital offence was that it nearly outshone the brahmans of banking, the Jews in the city, London, Wall Street, New York, NY, U.S. Once the decision to guillotine BCCI was finally made, excuses to justify the killing could always be found. Particularly when you are the complainant, the investigator, the prosecutor and the judge as well as the hatchet man.

Long live Western justice, fairplay, tolerance and what have you. The persecution of BCCI is one glowing example of Western values in full cry. In simple lingo of simple people, what the Bank of England has done to BCCI is the massacre of innocents.

Muslims To 'Be Enslaved'

91AS1167G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
1 Jul 91 pp 6, 8

[Article by Shahid Aziz: "Would Pakistan and Iran Survive the U.S. World Order"]

[Excerpts] Despite the traditional ties between Islamabad and Washington and the heavy tilt in favour of the U.S. during the crucial cold war between the super-powers adopted by our foreign policy-makers, apart from the incalculable damage to our national interests by earning the wrath of Moscow and helping from the USSR-India axis which has always undermined our national security and stability, the U.S. has recently shown its true colour by asking Pakistan to "dismantle" her nuclear programme or face consequences. Evidently, Washington has implied that if Islamabad did not toe the American line in the aftermath of the collapse of communism and the emergence of U.S. as the sole global superpower, her destiny would be no different from that of Iraq.

Though the policy-makers have not yet taken the nation into confidence about the tone of American threat, the Zionist-controlled western media has leaked a number of stories about penetration of Mossad's agents in Pakistan, the Khad-Raw clandestine designs, the possibility of an imminent war with India by next September and even an Israeli preemptive strike against Pakistan's nuclear installation. No doubt, things appear to be very grim, given the extent of CIA's penetration in Pakistan. In this regard, one would like to quote Bob Woodward's "Veil" in which he disclosed that the CIA station in Islamabad was one of the biggest in the world (p. 311).

The U.S. arrogance of power has reached its zenith with the destruction of the military might of Iraq and its economic infrastructure. And since the Muslim world remained a silent spectator and indifferent to what was happening to over 18 million fellow Muslims in Iraq, being hopelessly unable to differentiate between the Iraqi regime and innocent Iraqi people: indications are that the U.S. would tend to repeat the slaughter of the Iraqis elsewhere in the Muslim World to confirm its sole leadership of this region. Thus, our vital national institutions would have been marked either by Washington or its surrogates in the region. The U.S.-led enemies of Pakistan could selectively destroy many strategic institutions in Pakistan including the uranium enrichment facilities at Kahuta, the plutonium processing facility at PINSTECH and the KANUPP reactor.

In the long run, other vital interests of Pakistan could also be targeted, including.

- i. Intellectual resources including the cadre of trained nuclear scientists, engineers, technicians and industrial base.

ii. Production capacity like nuclear technology, hardware, operational plants, nuclear fuel, reactors and advanced spent-fuel reprocessing technology for separating plutonium.

iii. Delivery capacity including advanced warplanes like F-16s and missiles system.

With the occupation of oil fields in the Gulf and immense influence on the oil-rich Muslim countries, Washington would also use its influence on them to cut off any financial resources that Pakistan might obtain from fellow Muslim countries to sustain its economy and industrial base. This policy has been demonstrated during the Gulf crisis when Pakistan was deprived from adequate compensation for its abidance by the UN Security Council Resolutions that imposed embargo on dealing with Iraq and the then occupied Kuwait, even as Pakistan's losses were estimated at 2.3 billion dollars annually. Conversely, other non-Muslim States were generously compensated. For example, Soviet Union obtained three billion dollars, while the U.S. itself got over 113 billion dollars.

Since the American perception is centered on the ruthless suppression of Islamic movements throughout the world, being the only force that is capable of emerging as a balancing power before the new American imperialism. Washington would also weaken Pakistan by a similar move against its giant Muslim neighbour: Iran. [passage omitted]

Only recently, the People's Republic of China and North Korea have been subjected to intense pressure by the Bush administration against supplying Iran, Pakistan and other Muslim countries with medium-range missiles and nuclear technology for peaceful purpose.

It is expected that "taming" Iran would be on the top priority of the U.S.-imposed New World Order because Tehran remains a model Islamic Republic and a source of strength and aspiration for Islamic movements in the Muslim World. And in order to "crush" the Islamic movements, their ideological base should be weakened if not completely destroyed. With this notion in mind, Tehran should view with great concern the unprecedented American "safe haven" in northern Iraq and the military bases in Warba and Bubyen Islands, coupled with American resolve to shift its CENTCOM [Central Control Facility] to Bahrain.

For Pakistan, such developments mean depriving her of a natural ally and strategic depth, particularly when subjected to U.S.-inspired aggression to demolish its nuclear facilities and military might being the last hope for the Muslim nation.

Recently, the western media expressed apprehension on the possibility of making Iranian-style Islamic Republic

in Turkey simply because of the growing Islamic trend in Turkey and the failure of Kemal Ataturk's 'laicism.' The West is terrified of the religious zeal on the streets of Turkey, of people's attendance of Friday prayers in Ankara and of headscarves being worn by women students on campuses! Other reports claim that Turkey would soon be converted into "fundamentalism" because over 20,000 people graduate annually from its religions schools! And when one Turkish politician stated that Islam remained the most coherent factor in Turkey's national unity, he was widely quoted by the Zionist-controlled media to prove the theory about reemergence of Islam in Turkey!

All this should lead to some revolutionary changes in our foreign policy and priorities, since the nation is united on Islam as our ideological base and nuclear capability as a deterrence against the aggressors and a guarantee to our survival as a distinct nation. And these two concepts should positively and forcefully lead to strengthen the relations with both the Islamic Republic of Iran and the People's Republic of China to withstand the American pressure and blackmail.

If Pakistan surrenders before the Americans now with respect to the nuclear programme, there will be no limit for such a surrender; because the Americans endeavour to demolish Pakistan's military power and make her a banana republic so that the Muslim World should be enslaved by the U.S.-imposed world order.

U.S. Said Able To Detect 'Nuclear Presence'

91AS0890C Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Apr 91 p 16

[Article: "U.S. Established Laboratory in Saudi Arabia To Detect Nuclear Presence"]

[Text] Washington (JANG Correspondent)—The United States has established detection centers in Saudi Arabia and several other countries to detect nuclear presence in Iraq and other countries. These centers are equipped with special instruments that can measure the amount of nuclear production. It should be remembered that Stephen Solaraz had announced in 1987 that the United States had special equipment that could detect Pakistan's atomic program. However, he did not reveal his sources. He had probably meant that information was received from within Pakistan or from centers established near Pakistan. According to the International Atomic Energy Commission, it was the first event in history where a fully functioning nuclear installation was made a target during a war. This attack was made on the Iraqi nuclear installation by the allied forces. The center in Saudi Arabia could not detect if Iraq had moved enriched uranium prepared there. Officials of the Atomic Energy Commission will visit Iraq and inspect the rubble of the destroyed reactor to find out what happened to the uranium.

Relations With U.S. Seen Distant

91AS1169A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
26 Jun 91 pp 1, 8

[Article by Arif Nizami: "Pak-U.S. Relations to Base on Lowering of Expectations"]

[Text] Lahore—As a result of the recent Wasim Sajjad mission to Washington, Pakistan and the U.S. have struck a new relationship based upon mutual lowering of expectations. This claim was made by a high-level diplomatic source accompanying the Senate chairman, while talking to *THE NATION*.

The source reiterated Pakistan's stand that the mission had not gone to the U.S. to get the aid package for Pakistan restored. And even if they had tried, it would have been a herculean task to unravel the tangles of the "Pakistan specific" Pressler Amendment.

The diplomatic source also claimed that apart from mustering a positive response from the U.S. administration and Congress to Pakistan's proposal for a five-nation conference on nuclear nonproliferation in South Asia, the U.S. House of Representatives overwhelming vote to extend the application of the Pressler Amendment to India was a victory of Pakistan.

The source, however, conceded that it was Pyrrhic victory in the sense that the extension of the Pressler Amendment to India stipulated that "it will not have additional nuclear explosive devices" whereas in the case of Pakistan the same law states that the U.S. President has to certify that Pakistan does not possess a nuclear device.

Secondly, the U.S. is an insignificant source for India's military hardware whereas Pakistan is adversely affected by the aid cut-off even in terms of getting spare parts for its U.S. supplied equipment.

Thirdly, U.S. aid for Pakistan suspended last October, amounts to more than U.S. dollars, 550 million while India receives not more than U.S. dollars 100 million from the U.S.

Interestingly the Wasim Sajjad mission, which is now being touted as a success by official circles, started from a low point not only because of lack of enthusiasm of the U.S. administration but also thanks to the lukewarm attitude of Pakistan's Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Najam-ud-Din Sheikh.

According to reliable sources the Ambassador advised the mission not to come hours before its departure, saying that it would result in a fiasco as "nobody who mattered in Washington was willing to see them. It was Secretary-General, Foreign Affairs, Mr. Akram Zaki, who put his foot down and decided that the mission will go and if its is cold shouldered in Washington, that in itself will be the litmus test of the future of U.S.-Pakistan relations. [quotation marks as received]

The mission ultimately met everybody it had originally planned to meet including U.S. Vice-President, Secretary of State, Secretary Defence, the National Security Advisor to the U.S. President and Under Secretaries for Political and International Affairs.

According to an insider, the reluctance on the part of Pakistan's Ambassador in Washington has been perceived in Islamabad as an upshot of the craving of group for the return of the prodigal, Sahabzada Yaqub Khan as advisor foreign affairs. The Sahabzada's group claims the blessings of the President in their endeavour and believes that only Pakistan's veteran diplomat is capable of restoring the old U.S.-Pakistan nexus.

In the light of this it will not be a surprise to see a shake up in the Foreign Office including reshuffling of Ambassadors in some important capitals, which had been postponed up til now by the new Secretary-General.

Commenting on reports that Wasim Sajjad during his parleys in Washington gave some sort of assurance to the U.S. administration and Congress regarding the so-called "roll back" of Pakistan nuclear programme to October 1989 status, as demanded by the U.S., the high-level source categorically denied any such deal adding "the proof of the pudding is in eating it. We did not go for restoration of aid nor did we get it."

He also quoted from the U.S. State Department spokesperson Margret Tutwiler's statement which states "the talks also continued the dialogue between Pakistan and the U.S. on nuclear issue. Discussions were forthright and cordial, reflecting the longstanding friendship between the two countries and the mutual desire to resolve outstanding differences."

The U.S. administration also expressed its interest in Pakistan's proposal for a five-nation conference on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, terming it as "constructive." The mission was also informed about the U.S. perception that India has not said a final "no" to the proposal and the new government in New Delhi, might not be so averse to the idea floated by Islamabad.

Mr. Wasim Sajjad and Akram Zaki flew straight to Lahore on Saturday and briefed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on their mission.

It is learnt that the prime minister gave Mr. Zaki the go-ahead to hold consultations for a preliminary conference in Geneva, at the ambassadorial level to be sponsored by the U.S., USSR and China, including India and Pakistan over the issue. However, in the absence of India giving some kind of a positive response to the proposal it remains stillborn despite the diplomatic support of USA, China and the Soviet Union.

As for the state of U.S.-Pakistan bilateral relations the source predicted that they will certainly improve in the coming weeks saying that the mission, during its talks with the administration, adopted the strategy of stressing on areas of agreement and commonality of interests

between the two countries and singling out areas of sharp disagreements like the nuclear issue.

Regarding the aid issue the U.S. administration ensured that other donor countries and agencies will not be dissuaded from continuing their assistance to Pakistan. However, the U.S. which is already supplying super computers and aircraft engines to India has yet to extend the same facility to Pakistan.

Similarly, spare parts for U.S. supplied military equipment for Pakistan remain suspended under the Pressler Amendment. The source said that signing on the dotted line for restoration of spares which in any case will be suspended if there is war with India (a la 1965 and 1971) will be too heavy a price to pay.

A scaled down relationship between Islamabad and Washington with no illusions on both sides lays down a basis for a mature and longstanding relationship for the future, it added.

A positive achievement of the mission is that for the first time a serious effort has been made to have a direct dialogue with U.S. Congressmen representing different lobbies in House.

Mr. Wasim made good use of his credentials as Chairman Senate to initiate this process. The previous approach of lobbying with the administration and a select few pro-Pakistan Congressmen could not have paid dividends in the changed environment of U.S.-Pakistan relations.

JUP Leader Alleges Active CIA Presence

91AS0890B Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Apr 91 p 10

[Article: "Maulana Noorani: CIA Most Active in Pakistan"]

[Text] Karachi (Staff Reporter)—The leader of Jumiat-i Ulema-i Pakistan (JUP), Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, said that Pakistan is the largest activity center of the CIA and the United States is able to do whatever it desires. He added that the present government was working hard to establish U.S. supremacy. This government is finishing what the previous governments had started. He was addressing a meeting called in his honor by Anjuman Naujawana-i Islam (ANI). He said that Pakistan was not an Islamic society anymore; it was a society heading for destruction. He added that the stores were packed with European goods; that shamefulness and nudity is rampant, and television channels such as PTN, CNN and PTV were playing a very detestable role in spreading obscenity. According to him, these channels were teaching sinfulness. He accused Indian, Jewish, and U.S. cultures of destroying Pakistan and the Pakistani Government for being at the beck and call of the United States. He warned the government that it would be destroyed like the previous governments. He said that obscenity was being taught in the name of culture here and dancing girls were invited even to the parties and threby breaking the holy fast. Alcohol is being sold

openly and the government, which does not arrest the persons who adulterate edibles, is very alert indeed in apprehending those who adulterate alcoholic beverages. He accused the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] government for destroying Islamic traditions. He said that the holy month of Ramazan teaches us patience and sacrifice and the purpose of fasting is to get rid of sins such as lying and slandering. It is important to practice Ramazan the whole year. The JUP leader said that the aim of the ANI was to spread Islamic practices throughout the nation, but the young people would have to work very hard. Shah Faridul Haq, Mehmood Ahmed Saddiqqi, and Tariq Mehboob also addressed the meeting.

Dependence on China Seen Increasing

91AS0961A Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Apr 91 p 3

[Article by Salim Yazdani: "New Political Realities and the United States of America"]

[Text] We are living in a world in which many international issues have changed dramatically. The truths of yesterday seem to be a mirage and the question of regional security, the issue of world peace, the balance of power, or the argument between the superpowers over retribution have all changed drastically. Soviet communism has fallen asunder and Soviet Russia is losing all of its Third World empire. Communism in Europe is also facing failure, and the seed of democracy is growing in the rubble of communism. We cannot even recognize the glory of Soviet Russia because of all the political wounds it is suffering from. No one knows when glasnost started by Gorbachev will become a tool in the hands of the CIA.

The "truths and facts" have changed so much that the United States has become the most powerful nation in the world. It has no rival in the political horizon of the world, and the Soviet Union is busy trying to stay alive. China is the only power that has challenged U.S. supremacy. Because of this challenge, President Bush asked the U.S. Congress to be realistic. The U.S. President has also written a letter to the chairman of the U.S. Senate requesting him to remove the Pressler Amendment, which has resulted in a discriminatory attitude towards Pakistan. The truth is that the laws pertaining to foreign aid have been made so complex that the U.S. Government is unable to dictate its foreign policy to follow its own interests. Against this background of changing world politics, it is imperative for the U.S. Government to take action to ensure the protection of its friendly countries' interests and provide them with economic and military aid.

The U.S. Government and its President are aware of the fact that if aid to Pakistan is suspended, then it will hurt their own interests, and the effects would not only be felt in southeast Asia, but will also spread to north and central Indochina and some African countries.

Should the changes the United States President requested from the U.S. Congress in context of the foreign aid be approved, it would be easy for the U.S. Government to achieve its foreign policy goals in Asia and Africa. It will also protect itself from the confrontational policy with the People's Republic of China, which is looming large in front of it as "Asian Communism." If the changes in foreign aid laws are not made as per the American President's desires in 1991, a new cold war-like atmosphere will start in Asia, Africa, and other Third World countries. It will be very difficult for the United States to face this situation, and the new world order the United States is visualizing will fall prey to various conflicts.

The situation that has developed in Pakistan in connection with U.S. aid was not wholly unexpected. However, it was surprising and a cause of concern for the United States that the present elected and democratic government of Pakistan is not worried about the suspension of this aid. It has adopted a very cool attitude toward U.S. policy and does not want to worsen its relationship with the U.S. Government.

Let us analyze why the U.S. Government would like to continue aid to Pakistan and why the U.S. President is asking Congress to remove the Pressler Amendment. We understand the following reason for this development. The U.S. Government would like to keep Pakistan under its influence so that it can stop it from becoming a nuclear power, and also to control the powers that could emerge from China, Pakistan, and Iran. The U.S. Government is well aware of the fact that if there is an ideological confrontation between it and China, then it would help attract communism to Asia. In that case, the communism that was checked when the Soviet Union fell would start spreading again in the Third World countries. The Third World countries with socialist ideologies are suffering from depression. They might accept Chinese leadership, and this would be very critical in the eyes of the United States.

There is no denying the fact that Pakistan is one country in this region that is like a political bridge. Political ideology and influence would gain impetus by traveling over this bridge. The U.S. Government is well aware of the fact that if pressured, Pakistan would be forced to have closer ties to the PRC. If Pakistan began to depend wholly on China, then Chinese influence would spread in the Gulf countries and the Middle East in the near future. Later, this would spread to Africa.

The United States is an unchallenged superpower now. However, there is one country in Asia, which is not called a superpower, but is in a position to be one. That country is the PRC. The relationship between China and the United States clearly indicates that they are volatile, and Third World countries are looking at Beijing.

Islamic powers in Iran have been a cause of concern for the United States of America. The situation in Afghanistan favors such powers. Even though the present government of Pakistan does not like to be identified as

reactionary, the fundamentalists are keeping its affairs very narrow. Pakistan's Prime Minister had to come out and announce that he is not a fundamentalist. He said that the U.S. Government was committing a basic error if it wanted to influence a democratic government. The more this government is pressured, the stronger the fundamentalist powers in Pakistan will become.

Everyone is aware of the fact that religious fundamentalists and socialist fundamentalists in Pakistan are both opposed to U.S. policies. If the U.S. Government tries to weaken the Nawaz Sharief government, then it would not be able to protect its own interests also.

Both factions mentioned above are trying to worsen U.S.-Pakistani relations. However, the people who are not emotional and are realistic know that the situation can be normalized by negotiations, and these negotiations could take place at any time.

In our opinion, it would be better for the United States, Pakistan, and the whole world if both countries understood each other perfectly and sat down to eliminate differences of opinion. If the United States is not satisfied by our stand, then we do not have to make anyone cry or complain. If it does not want to give us any aid, then we should be prepared to face that scenario. We should keep in mind that it is important for the United States to provide aid for Pakistan to protect its own interests. It will find a way to help Pakistan if it thinks that helping Pakistan is important for its own interests. It should do whatever it considers to be proper. The fact is that U.S.-Pakistani interests are related more than ever before. Pakistan is the only country that can help reduce the ideological confrontation between the United States and China, at least for the time being. At this point, the ideological confrontation between the United States and China could start. The question arises: will this confrontation be beneficial to the United States, or will it be like losing a winning battle?

When the Geneva pact was signed to resolve the Afghanistan issue, the former Pakistani president, Ziaul Haq, had assumed which way the situation was going to lead. For this reason, he had started to establish friendly relationships between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China. The friendship pacts that President Ghulam Ishaq Khan had signed with China called for cooperation in the area of nuclear development. That is where the situation became worse and culminated in the suspension of U.S. aid.

It appears that the United States is putting pressure to end Pakistan-Chinese cooperation in nuclear research. Despite this pressure, China has told the United States that it will continue cooperating with Pakistan. The U.S. Government has no alternative but not to make relationships worse with China, and also to reinstate aid to Pakistan to make sure that Pakistan does not join the Chinese sphere of influence.

A natural outcome of not giving aid to Pakistan would be Pakistan's increased dependence on China. This would

result in an increasing Chinese influence in Pakistan. If the United States adopts a stricter attitude toward China, the conflict in Indochina will increase, and China will be forced to help the Mujahiddin in Afghanistan and Iran. The resulting situation will greatly affect the Middle East. The Chinese influence will spread in the Gulf, and socialist countries in the Third World will also accept Chinese supremacy. Thus, China will become a leader of all socialist countries, and the goals of U.S. foreign policy will be in jeopardy in this changed situation. It does not matter how difficult this situation would be for the United States of America, as this would be like nectar for world peace. The balance of power that was damaged at the fall of Soviet Russia would be reestablished.

Regional Affairs

Editorial Views Pact With India

91AS0888B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
Apr 91 p 10

[Editorial: "The Real Problem and the Indo-Pak Pact"]

[Text] Two pacts assuring of noninterference in each other's air space and giving advance information of their military movement between India and Pakistan have been signed. It is hoped that this would end the possibility of a war. The efforts being made by India and Pakistan as neighboring countries to reduce the possibilities of aggression should be helpful for peace in this region. Pakistan has always taken proactive actions in this direction so that both countries can use their national resources for the welfare of their people. India, however, has acted differently. Its ambition to become a minisuperpower has resulted in fears in all countries in this area about their safety and they have not been able to establish friendly relations with India. India is Pakistan's eternal enemy and its relations with Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal are also bad. It has even interfered with a small and peaceful country like Maldives. It also has long standing disagreement with China, even though China has no aggressive designs and has never hurt any of its neighbors. Against this background, possibility of a war in this area would end only when India gives up its expansionist ambitions. It should stop making and trading weapons and be willing to resolve the Kashmir issue dragging on between India and Pakistan for the last 40 or 42 years. The Indian military is carrying out extreme atrocities in occupied Kashmir and the federal cabinet had expressed concern over it recently. The governor of occupied Kashmir has threatened Pakistan with war and India has not allowed the people of Kashmir to make decision about themselves despite those U.N. resolutions. Signing on minor pacts would not help if India does not take these steps. The Kashmir situation is pushing both nations toward a war. Even Indian leaders have expressed concerns about it. We cannot predict what role can pacts play in such a

situation. We pray to God that these pacts really would help to establish friendly relations between the two countries.

RA Headquarters Reportedly on Nation's Border

91AS0887B Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Apr 91 p 3

[Editorial: "India's Intelligence Activities"]

[Text] According to a report, India has established a secret headquarters of RA [Indian intelligence agency] in Rajasthan adjoining Pakistan's border. The RA members plan terrorist activities in this headquarters. It was also learned that the RA has established offices in some specific areas in Sindh. It is deplorable that India is planning terrorist activities to take advantage of the situation in Sindh. The name of the Indian intelligence agency, RA, has been mentioned in the context of incidents involving robberies, abductions, murders, and terrorism in Sindh in the past. Pakistan had brought this to the Indian Government's attention a number of times. India has established training camps for interference in Sindh. A new wave of terrorism is spreading in our country recently and the incidents brought to light clearly indicate that this is not the work of some small gang and an organized agency is behind these incidents. The Punjab chief minister has also clearly stated that the RA and KHAD agents are destroying peace and had asked the government to scrutinize the situation. He had suggested that all important and critical locations and all ports and international borders be closely guarded. This would help keep the terrorists out. Special operations should be launched to eliminate terrorists in Sindh and other important places in Pakistan. This will help ensure that the terrorists do not achieve their depraved goals.

Indian, Israeli Agents Alleged To Be Active

91AS0890D Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Apr 91 p 10

[Article: "MOSAD and RA Agents Active in Sindh"]

[Text] Rohri (Report from Sayyed Farman Ali)—According to reports received here, six terrorists belonging to the Israeli intelligence agency "MOSAD" and Indian intelligence agency "RA" have entered Sindh and have made contact with their associates to start terrorist activities in Pakistan, especially in Sindh. According to the reports received by our intelligence agencies, these terrorists have made plans to start violent activities during the Id [holiday] as the markets are crowded during this festival. Informed sources revealed that these terrorists have also planned to assassinate some Sindhi leaders and then accuse the opponent parties of the crime to instigate violence in Sindh. The home ministry has issued orders to the four state governments to make plans to curb possible terrorist activities and has instructed all intelligence agencies to arrest these foreign terrorists and their local agents in order to stop all their activities.

Indians Said 'Illegally Becoming Citizens'*91AS0890A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 8 Apr 91 p 8*

[Article: "Investigation on Indians Becoming Citizens Illegally"]

[Text] Karachi (PPA)—Indian tourists who illegally reside in Pakistan are being investigated and plans are being prepared to take strong action against them. According to very knowledgeable sources, intelligence agencies have already prepared lists of Indian tourists who have visas to visit Pakistan for a limited period. These sources revealed that these tourists have obtained identification cards and other documents illegally, however, the intelligence agencies have all this information. It was learned that the Pakistani Government is planning to take action against the persons who have provided shelter to these Indian tourists even when they are their relatives. It is said that as soon as this list is finished, it will be presented to the home minister for his review. It is expected that action will follow soon.

Editorial Condemns Government Moves on Kashmir*91AS0887E Karachi JANG in Urdu 2 Apr 91 p 2*

[Editorial: "Dissolving Azad Kashmir"]

[Text] Mr. Mumtaz Hussein Rathore, prime minister of Azad Kashmir, has dissolved the Azad Kashmir legislative assembly and has announced that new general elections would be held on 2 July. While explaining this decision, Mr. Rathore insisted that he was not under pressure to take this step and had done so as the present situation was effecting the freedom struggle movement in Kashmir. He has announced the appointment of an interim cabinet composed of representatives of all political parties in order to have the elections held in a free and fair atmosphere resulting in a strong and stable government. President of Azad Kashmir, Sardar Abdulqayum Khan, and the minister for Kashmir affairs, Sardar Mehtab, have also expressed similar hopes and have welcomed the dissolving of the legislative assembly. Mr. Rathore has declared that he was going to the people of Kashmir with his nine months' performance and would accept whatever is decided in the elections with an open mind. The decision of the Azad Kashmir prime minister appears to be optimistic for the state for several reasons. The Azad Kashmir government could not make any concrete progress after the last elections as the People's Party of Azad Kashmir has been divided into several factions. Factionalism and campaigning had started from the very first day and the danger of a no confidence motion to remove the government kept hovering overhead. Some of Mr. Rathore's actions were disliked by the Muslim Conference as well as Pakistani leadership. Heated statements were also exchanged between Sardar Qayum and Mr. Rathore. At a time when the freedom fighters in Kashmir were giving momentum to the freedom struggle by shedding their blood, squabble over trifles in Azad Kashmir was

causing serious concern. Some people had also expressed the fear of interference by Pakistan. We had advised various rivals in these columns that they should work cooperatively. We are also requesting the Government of Pakistan to refrain from interfering in Azad Kashmir's affairs. Keeping all this in view, we have to agree that the decision of the Azad Kashmir prime minister to dissolve the assembly will bring about better results. The reaction of the people to this action seems to be also very helpful, because the freedom struggle of Kashmiris has reached a decisive phase and the end of the internal squabbles in Azad Kashmir would help it. The freedom fighters exposing themselves to the brutality of Indian soldiers will be encouraged. Meanwhile, it is important that all small and large groups working in Azad Kashmir must realize the sensitivity of the situation and demonstrate their responsibilities to ensure formation of a government and a legislative assembly on 2 July that will help the freedom movement in Kashmir.

Government Urged To Stop Interfering in Kashmir*91AS0887A Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Apr 91 p 3*

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Politics and Azad Kashmir"]

[Text] We have maintained from the very beginning that Pakistan should not interfere too much in Azad Kashmir's affairs. More than that, we had expressed the desire that Pakistan's national problems and disagreements should not be allowed to spill over into Azad Kashmir. We have to regretfully say that our political parties never considered giving any importance to our humble advice. As a result the politics in Azad Kashmir have been changing with the changes in governments in Pakistan. The worst thing is that this is affecting the Kashmir issue. The recent change in the slogan, "Kashmir will become Pakistan" at the government level in Azad Kashmir is solid proof of this situation. Therefore, once again we are appealing to all Pakistani and Kashmiri leaders to think about this situation keeping in mind the men, women, and children who have been shedding their blood and making sacrifices for an independent Kashmir. They should refrain from spreading their political disagreements into Azad Kashmir, as this would have an adverse effect on the struggle for freedom in Azad Kashmir.

'Cold War' Between Central Government, Kashmir*91AS0960A Karachi AMN in Urdu 27 Apr 91 p 2*

[Editorial: "Federal Government Versus the Azad Kashmir Government"]

[Text] According to news reports, a cold war has started between the federal government and the government of Azad Kashmir. The federal government has blocked all funds reserved for Azad Jammu and Kashmir and has also removed all authority of Prime Minister Mumtaz Hussein Rathore. The Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir

has refused to obey any orders issued by the federal government and has appointed eight new ministers. He openly declared that if the chief secretary appointed by the federal government ignored his orders, he would physically throw him out. According to our information, the federal government, through his chief secretary, had told the Jammu and Kashmir government to stop appointment of all ministers until the 29 June general elections. The Prime Minister had instructed that all development funds, including the religious tax fund, be frozen. According to our information, the purpose of these orders issued by the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs is to discourage undemocratic actions before the general elections. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had invited Prime Minister Mumtaz Hussein Rathore for talks after the start of this cold war between them, and then he had refused to meet him. Another reliable source revealed that he advised the Azad Kashmir president, Sardar Abdul Qayum, to change his policy about cooperation with Rathore in the general elections. As a result of it, Sardar Qayum, who was negotiating with Rathore for working together, suddenly changed his plans and refused to cooperate in the general elections. Meanwhile, Mumtaz Rathore warned the government that if it tried to remove him from his position, the people would oppose it, and the only way to vacate the Prime Minister's office would be to assassinate him.

At a time when the freedom fighters are accelerating their efforts in the occupied Kashmir, the Indian Government is beginning to appear helpless against them, the attention of the whole world is focused on the Kashmir issue, and the U.S. Government has been forced to announce that it considered the Kashmir issue a disputed issue that must be resolved according to the U.N. resolutions passed earlier, the Pakistani Government's interference in Kashmir's affairs to bring about changes in the political situation before the mid-term elections is not appropriate. This will also hurt the belief of the people of Kashmir that the government of Pakistan is fair to them, and it will help the Indian cause about its stand on Kashmir.

The difference of opinion and confrontation between the Azad Kashmir prime minister and the federal government are not new. Actually, Prime Minister Rathore had to break up the assembly and hold new general elections just to avoid this type of horse trading. All political circles welcomed Mr. Rathore's decision to break up the assembly and hold elections all over again. It was felt that this step would increase the chances for a democratic government in Azad Kashmir. Later, Mr. Rathore announced an election cooperation with the party of Azad Kashmir President Sardar Abdul Qayum. He proved by his actions that he had decided to establish such a strong and stable government in Azad Kashmir that the suffering people in the occupied Kashmir could feel good about it and also make the independence of Azad Kashmir a reality.

This openhearted, understanding, and flexible attitude adopted by Prime Minister Mumtaz Hussein should be

welcomed, and he should be encouraged so that the confrontational politics between the governments of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir are brought to an end. However, instead of forming a cooperative environment, funds for Azad Kashmir were frozen, and the chief secretary for Azad Kashmir Affairs was made more powerful than the Prime Minister. All this made the atmosphere more confrontational in nature. Prudence dictates that since there are only two months left for the general elections in Azad Kashmir, no political change should be forced upon the people there, and the people should be given the opportunity to elect a government without any pressure, so that a democratic government is formed there.

Government Criticized for Inaction in Kashmir

91AS0960C Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 May 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Responsibilities of Muslim Government and the Kashmir Issue"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief has announced that if the Indian Government does not stop committing atrocities on the people of Kashmir, then the results would be very harmful. He added that if the Indian Government wanted to improve relations with the Government of Pakistan, then it should stop ill-treating the people of Kashmir and hold a referendum there. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharief was addressing a meeting inaugurating the campaign to recruit members for the Punjab Muslim League at the Muslim League house in Lahore. He said that he will not let any person become a member of the Muslim League if he is an enemy of the Muslim League at heart. Addressing Punjab's Chief Minister, Ghulam Haider Wain, he said action should be taken against the people who had paved the way for victory of the opponents in the general elections.

As for the atrocities committed by the Indian armed forces on the people of Kashmir, the whole civilized world has started to react against it. It will be difficult for India to face this reaction. It will depend on the government of Pakistan to make sure that it brings up the issue of ill-treatment of the people of Kashmir in the United Nations, and also ask it to take steps in assuring that India follows up on its promises. The U.S. Congress and the British Parliament have heard about the atrocities being committed on the people of Kashmir, and they have started to demand that aid to India be stopped. However, we have not started any strong action or an effective campaign to work on this problem. Not only this; the ministry of information had adopted a very cool attitude toward screening a movie which depicted the freedom struggle of the Kashmiri people. A lot of people strongly objected to this attitude. The Muslim League is the party that helped establish Pakistan, and the Kashmir issue was born during its rule. The Muslim League is in power today, and the people of Kashmir are continuing to fight for their freedom. It is our government's duty not only to fully support this struggle, but also inform the whole Islamic world about the Indian

atrocities and the problem of the people of Kashmir. Our government should use all available resources to make sure that the Indian Government follows through on the promises made to the people of Kashmir, and helps the Kashmiri people achieve their goal of independence.

The prime minister also mentioned several important aspects about the membership of the Muslim League. Chief Minister of Punjab, Ghulam Haider Wain, President of the Pakistan Muslim League Party, Mohammed Khan Junejo, and several other Muslim League leaders have emphasized that the Muslim League must become a very well-organized and effective party. We would like to remind the people that vested interests have always played a major role in the rise and fall of the Muslim League. There was a time when the conspiracies of these interests had changed the Muslim League party into the Republic Party overnight, and had voted into leadership a person who was the worst enemy of the establishment of Pakistan. We also know what happened to the Muslim League party after the fall of Ayub Khan. Even now, there exist several factions of the party, and Nawaz Sharif had once said that had he known that the Muslim League would be able to win the general elections with such a large margin, He would not have allowed some undeserving persons to get election tickets. These facts are informative and moralistic for the Muslim League leadership. It is important that a democratic system is established within the party, and elections are held at every level of the party structure. All members of the party should be encouraged to work better and organize effectively. Attention should be given for their training also, so that the roots of the Muslim League become strong, and it is able to play the role of a well-organized party of the people.

Internal Affairs

Sharif Attacked on 'Government by Patronage'

91AS1073A Karachi DAWN in English 10 Jun 91 p 11

[Article by Dr. Mohammad Wasteem: "Government by Patronage"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] During the last eight months, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has pursued certain policies and actions which give an impression of a man in a hurry. While his government is backed by a huge mandate to rule this country for five years, it has opted for a style which is more suited for rule by a caretaker regime.

The Nawaz Sharif Government started its tenure under the most enviable circumstances. It represented young leadership. It claimed the support of a clear majority in the 1990 elections despite the PDA's [People's Democratic Alliance's] protests about the way elections were held by Jatoi's caretaker government. It enjoyed the support of the civil-military establishment. It faced a parliamentary opposition which had been effectively tamed in the aftermath of its controversial electoral defeat. It had even managed to instal the IJI [Islamic

Jamhoori Ittehad] governments in all the four provinces whereas it had a clear majority only in Punjab. No government in Pakistan could ask for better circumstances at its inception.

But, the IJI government seems to have opted for rule without regard to the principle of responsibility to the electorate. It has considered those issues for legislation for which no real public demand existed, be it ideology or the hard-core economic policy. Thus, it almost created the issue of Sharia Bill and successfully carried legislation based on it. In this way, it claimed to have fulfilled its election promises. The fact that the IJI government continues to address such self-styled issues and shy away from the actual issues of governance points to its lack of confidence and even defeatism.

This aspect of the official thinking comes out clearly in the government's economic policy. While selling the idea of private enterprise as key to economic development, the IJI gave birth to expectations of a mature, well-thought out and productive programme and capital investment in the private sector. People welcomed its widely projected will to pump capital into the industrial sector and thus lead it to greater productivity and more employment. Unfortunately, the whole policy has been reduced to a speedy process of auctioning out the state's resources at a throw-away price. No clear official statement is available about the way industrial production will take the promised leap forward. Nor was any machinery set up to investigate into the economic, political, moral and legal aspects of the arbitrary transfer of resources from public to private hands under what is euphemistically called de-nationalisation of banks and industry. Policy never served profiteering so well.

Apart from the so-called policy of privatisation, there is no real policy which the IJI government can take the credit for. Indeed, policy is long dead in Pakistan. For more than a decade, patronage politics has replaced policy-based politics in a decisive way. The main determinant of this transition was the forced individualisation of politics through non-party elections or no elections at all. The old patron-client relations of the colonial period re-emerged in the form of biradri politics, with the addition of money and influence as determinant factors at the local level. While the 1988 and 1990 elections were formally held on the basis of parties, the logic of money and influence continued to vitiate the post 1985 political scene in Pakistan.

Patronage politics is considered very effective by the IJI government, especially in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Sindh. It has only meagre chances of continuing in power in these provinces without the active support of the ANP [Awami National Party] and MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] respectively. On the other hand, it has severe policy differences with the former, and long-term plans to undermine the latter from within. Thus, it is obliged to provide patronage in the short run. In the NWFP, Mir Afzal Khan has kept channels of selective patronage open. The emergent bourgeoisie of this province has pushed for grants, permits, credits and special privileges, which received sympathetic consideration in many cases. Patronage has served the purpose of bridging the gap between the IJI on

the one hand and the independents, the Pakhtun nationalists and the fundamentalist group on the other. Similarly, the continuing loyalty of the IJI members within or outside the legislature depends on how much patronage has been forthcoming for each of them.

In Sindh, patronage has been elevated to the position of policy itself. Jam Sadiq Ali continues to play politics on the basis of keeping an unreal coalition in power. His position is much worse than that of Mir Afzal Khan, at least in two respects; first, he is far more critically dependent on the MQM than is Mir Afzal Khan on ANP; secondly, the MQM is far superior in organisation and thus far more pressing in its demands than its counterpart in the NWFP. As a result, Jam has been gradually reduced to the position of an agency for arbitrary resource allocation on demand. He seems to be sitting on top of a huge patronage structure, doling out economic and political resources, largely at the nation's expense.

The Sindhi legislators and political heavyweights make the other group of clients who are to be served by Jam. There is a constant struggle going on to keep Sindhi politicians from within or outside the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] on his side. Patronage politics has now become financially very costly, administratively embarrassing in the face of severe law and order crisis in the province and politically a blind policy. How far would the Nawaz Sharif government like Jam to go in his wreckless pursuit of ghost enemies? How far can patronage fill the gap of security and legitimacy suffered by Sindh's chief minister? How far can the scarce resources of this nation be spent merely on paying the political price for keeping Jam going, while the productive sector is being starved for resources?

An obvious result of patronage politics is the enrichment of privileged individuals and relative impoverishment of the larger society which is thus denied the provision of capital input. A necessary fall-out of this pattern of rule is the loss of people's confidence in the collective processes of decision making such as in the assemblies or at the cabinet level. The individual fortune seekers have increasingly considered the present regime a paradise of their dreams. Can the IJI's component parties feel relaxed about the political effects of such actions on the public, considering that it had launched a vociferous campaign against the PPP regime precisely on this issue?

While the IJI government's patronage politics can therefore suffer a setback in the long run in terms of loss of credibility, it faces an even severer crisis in the short run. This is a crisis in its capacity to govern the society. While it has been engaged in managing the financial matters of the state at a less-than-serious level, the situation out in the field has worsened tremendously. It may not necessarily be a tongue-in-cheek definition of the current IJI government to say that it is: all power, no responsibility. It has shown, capacity to take decisions, on Water Accord, on Financial Award, on Sharia Bill. What it has not done is match its decision making on top with

institutional capacity to deliver at bottom. Almost everywhere, but especially in Sindh and Punjab, the law and order situation has reached crisis proportions. In Sindh, it is generally confused with the political issue of alienation of the articulate sections of the population. However, in Punjab, it is a matter of breakdown of the government's administrative machinery, pure and simple.

How did Punjab, the prime minister's home province which he continues to rule by decree, decline so rapidly in terms of its institutional productivity? The Punjab police seem to have stopped performing their designated function, while its magistracy, its educational structure, its communication delivery system and its banking sector have increasingly come under public criticism for having abdicated in favour of adventurers from the underworld. The fact that Punjab vote formally went the IJI way seems to have given the government a false confidence in its own capacity to manage the affairs of this province at a future date. Unfortunately for the IJI, Punjab is potentially the most explosive province in terms of both will and capacity to bring the government to accountability. The present situation of near lawlessness in the province is a real threat to the mass base of the IJI in Punjab, because it is hitting the people where it hurts most.

The response of the IJI governments in Lahore and Islamabad has been far from imaginative or even serious. It continues to harp on i) anti-PPP rhetoric which is fast becoming irrelevant, ii) issue 'innocent' statements to the effect that all is well, iii) commit itself to serving ideological causes, iv) and hide the facts from the public, especially about the budgetary squeeze over the people's purses. It is time the IJI realised the fact that it takes more than mere exercise of power to rule a society.

Sharif Performance on Crime Criticized

91AS1169B Lahore THE NATION in English
2 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by M.A. Niazi: "Law-and-Order Prime Minister and Terrorism"]

[Text] Somewhere, Someone must be grimly amused. That Someone has leaned yet again on a crowbar under a boulder, and at last the boulder has moved. Each of the many times that Someone levered at the crowbar, without result, Someone must have cursed the bovine stolidity of the people of the Punjab, their inertia, their uncomplaining acceptance of outrage after outrage. But now the boulder has rocked just a little, and it was time to jerk on the crowbar again.

When the Islampura murders took place, the boulder moved. As 10 days before with MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] and the traffic cop, it was a catalyst, a flashpoint for the inchoate emotion welling up in the hearts of the people, the primal fears darkening their

minds. The result was an explosion, a wave of spontaneous reaction that has rocked the seat of the Federal government itself.

There were those who noted that the people who had refused to tolerate a rise in the price of sugar in the time of Ayub, were now quiescent under the rises in the prices of everything. The people stayed stoic in the face of inflation, for the two decades since the fall of Ayub Khan had inured them to the paradox that increasing government intervention in the economic sphere brought no economic boons. The poor policing of urban Pakistan, caused by years of neglect and even deliberate sabotage in the form of appointing policemen whose only qualification was pliability, had led to an increasing feeling of insecurity. So when the latest outrage occurred, a collective convulsive shudder has run through the populace, cutting across the whole of society.

And the terror redoubled when the murders in Sheikhpura took place, the second jerk on the crowbar. And with that terror, came crazy fears and wild rumours, with no one in the city able to feel safe. There are shadowy figures abroad, who enter houses openly at noon, houses full of people, who are then slaughtered in an almost ritual silence. The pressure is on us all, in these scorching end-June days.

There are ironies, and there are ironies. First come the unwitting ones, the ones which might have been designed by the hand on the crowbar lever. A prime minister whose avowed philosophy is one of minimalist government, standing squarely on a law-and-order platform, who believes that the government should enforce law and order and leave the rest to Adam Smith's 'invisible hand'—the first blow is struck in his very constituency. As soon as he boldly promised to have the killers arrested in 72 hours, just over 24 hours later, the murders in Sheikhpura occurred. And the people murdered belonged to the backbone of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance], the sort of voters and supporters who swept Mian Nawaz Sharif to his October victory, businessmen of a conservative cast of mind, God-fearing and minding their own business.

Another unwitting irony is that the law-and-order prime minister, while chief minister of the Punjab, used to point with pride at the comparatively greater law and order in his province, especially when he compared it with the collapse in Sindh in the bad old days when the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] ruled in Karachi and Islamabad. In his complacency at the comparison, he failed to notice that the province he was ruling was becoming more lawless with each passing day. Perhaps the bitterest irony is that he is being called to account for crimes that he cannot stop, though the heat of feeling is generated by those crimes which he could have stopped, but did not.

There is no really effective answer to terrorism, especially when it is being used as a weapon of war by a

foreign power. It would not be amiss to remind ourselves, cold comfort though it maybe, that we are at war, involved in a low-level proxy conflict with two of our four neighbours, a strange and devious war which is the underlying reality of all protestations of cooperation and bettering of relations. It is a war no less deadly because it is hidden, its battles no less intense because fought by the few. In such a context, terrorist attacks will happen, baffling the law-enforcing agencies.

Yet that is not really why the people are protesting. People do not need crime statistics to know that law and order is worsening, as such statistics are not available anyhow. What people do know is of crime as it affects them, as it affects their neighbours, their relatives and friends. They know too of the indifference of the police, the active connivance of the supposed guardians of the law in crime, not from report or propaganda, but from firsthand anecdotal evidence.

So we have a situation where an angry public demands the hanging of the SP [Superintendent of Police] of Lahore. He may be guilty of much, but it is not easy to blame him for the massacre in Sheikhpura. The PM [prime minister] then commits the first deliberate irony of this whole episode, and Rana Maqbool Ahmad, of police-encounter and court-contempt fame, is made the DIG [Deputy Inspector General of Police] Lahore Range.

As soon as he was appointed, an apparent conspiracy to malign him seems underway, with the murders in Sheikhpura, which now comes under his jurisdiction. His promotion caused comment, with whispered demands that he now be made IG [Inspector General of Police], presumably to allow the SP Sheikhpura to be rewarded with the DIG slot. Anyhow, let us not grudge the man his elevation. It is an ill wind that blows no one any good, and if the sadistic slaughter of 13 people brings a dedicated and efficient police officer a promotion, then who are we ordinary mortals to complain?

The first duty of the State is to provide security of person and property to its citizens. It is only then that one can talk of social services, economic activities and promoting welfare. The government, understandably, feels shaken, and there came across a sense of a decision-making process without any direction over the weekend. Most significant, the smooth sailing of the Mian Nawaz government has run into foul winds, and it almost seemed as if we were back to the PPP days of staggering from crisis to crisis.

But let us all beware, for there are sinister forces at work. The first words of disillusionment have started being mouthed, the first of those short-sighted calls for the ideological frontiers of the country to be defended. Some are expressing fears of a fourth intervention, while others are actively calling for it. Such calls have been heeded in the past, and it is those who have sown the wind who have reaped the whirlwind.

Meanwhile, let all Lahorites sleep soundly at night. The peace of Lahore has been so well-maintained by the new DIG that the slitters of throats can now walk the streets during the day, seeking out victims under the noon sunlight. At night, only dacoits and burglars operate, their crimes now appearing almost reassuring in their ordinariness. To such a pass have we come.

Achievements of Sharif Seen Lacking

91AS1169D Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
11 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Farhatullah Babar: "Blundering on all Fronts"]

[Text] In his inaugural address, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif identified pragmatically three priority areas for his government: restoration of law and order in Sindh, stepping up of industrialisation, and pursuit of an independent foreign policy.

So crucial has been the maintenance of law and order that the prime minister, overreacting to certain events, cancelled his scheduled visit to Japan early this month, even though the cancellation cost Pakistan considerable delay in acquiring the over-500-million dollar Japanese loan, besides a never-to-recur opportunity of meeting over 100 top Japanese entrepreneurs for attracting foreign investment.

Stepping up the pace of industrialisation has been manifest in his pledge to take "revolutionary steps to massively industrialise all parts of the country," and subsequent threat to try for treason those who instigate workers to oppose the government's privatisation policy. As for the pursuit of an independent foreign policy, the prime minister has vowed more than once, "the government will not bow before others; we will not allow others to influence our basic policies."

Three laudable goals, indeed. But in the pursuit of these goals, the prime minister has stumbled on three strategic mistakes.

In his quest to restore law and order, the prime minister has made the mistake of trying to achieve crime control through ruthless suppression alone without creating conditions necessary for peace and harmony. What is worse is that in doing so, he has employed the superior judiciary, thereby threatening the very credibility of judiciary itself. He has begun treading on a marshy path on which to step back is as tedious as to step forward. He is likely to get stuck in the mire.

It is a measure of this fundamental mistake that ordinance after ordinance is being issued—despite the fact that summoning of the national Assembly poses no problem—introducing brute, ruthless and capital punishment such as hanging in public, life imprisonment and confiscation of properties for crimes ranging from kidnapping for ransom to possession of the illegal arms and inciting sectarian violence or desecrating national flag. Police powers to arrest

and even shoot suspects have been enhanced, and special courts consisting of judges of superior courts set up to try the accused not only in camera but also by adopting extra-judicial procedures which may not only lead to serious miscarriage of justice and violation of human rights, but also lend themselves to be used as a new instrument of political vendetta.

The flaws inherent in seeking suppression of crime through ruthlessness were dramatised by two recent happenings. First, the government's warning to citizens to deposit illegal arms has been ignored by the people. In Sindh, Frontier and Balochistan, not a single weapon has been surrendered so far. In the Punjab, according to newspaper reports, just one weapon—a 12-bore gun—was surrendered last Sunday by an elderly man to the SHO Taxila Police Station. In fact, provincial governments of Frontier and Balochistan have already told the federal government that its orders cannot be implemented in the provinces. And Nawab Bugti told the prime minister on his face in Quetta the other day that arms could not be taken away from the Baloch without a massive military operation with its grave consequences.

Faced with the unsavoury prospect of open defiance of state authority, the government is now genuinely worried. A high-level meeting in the Interior Ministry on Sunday reportedly considered the hopelessly poor response to the government's ultimatum. If now the government backtracks on a hastily promulgated law, as it did before the case of Qisas and Diyat Ordinance, the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government would have eroded its moral authority to command allegiance. If it goes ahead and tries to recover by use of force illegal arms, as frightful press and TV advertisements claim, the government should only be counting days to its last hurrah.

It would be a tragedy if the superior judiciary involved in the operation gets maligned in the process. A few months ago, a Special Judge in Karachi sentenced to death for kidnapping persons under the new law hastily enacted by the government. While the convicts are awaiting execution, the judge along with this driver and bodyguard, have already been murdered. It must be a highly irresponsible legislature and government which enacts laws thoughtlessly, the enforcement of which has exposed the judiciary to a grave peril.

The second fundamental mistake of Mr. Nawaz Sharif has been to presume that industrialisation is achieved through the magic wand of privatisation without the necessary inputs of law and order, energy, capital, a competitive environment and a contended labour. What is happening today is that profitable State-run units are being sold to private individuals who have borrowed money from the public sector banks. When it will come to the loss-making units, there will be no buyers. The chairman of the Privatisation Commission, Lt. Gen. (Retd) Saeed Qadir, has already bemoaned before the Rawalpindi Chamber of Commerce and Industry that private investors were not forthcoming to buy state units

despite incentives given by the government. Thus, eventually, the state will be left to take care of the sick units, while the profitable ones would have been sold to private persons to make hay while the sun shines.

Privatisation is no mistake, but ignoring sound advice is. It has been a mistake to ignore sound advice of the various subcommittees which had recommended to go slow, prefer former owners for the sale of units, take into account such factors as state's social responsibility, worker's welfare, discouraging monopolies, and prevent the sale of units as real estate pieces. No wonder that the pace of investment has slowed down and the Nooriabad industrial estate in Sindh is facing closure as entrepreneurs are moving to Punjab, and the prime minister's pledge of rapid industrialisation has fallen flat on its face.

As for pursuing an independent foreign policy, it has been a mistake of Mr. Nawaz Sharif to presume that it is he or the elected government which formulates and runs policies on vital areas of national security whether on the nuclear issue, or Kashmir or relations with the superpowers. Rejecting "friendship for aid or loans," Mr. Nawaz Sharif decries the so-called New World Order. The president, however, politely reminded him of his station. Addressing the National Defence College on 13 June, he said: "The New World Order is expected to bring humanity closer to the realisation of its hitherto unfulfilled dream: the dream of a peaceful world."

So has been the case with nuclear issue. That is why wise men around the prime minister persuaded him to walk up to the National Defence College for unfolding his five-nation nuclear conference proposals in the presence of three service chiefs to arouse credibility at home and abroad. Illusions about his being the framer of policy should have long been shed when COAS [Chief of Army Staff] General Beg publicly called for "visible deterrence," "strategic defiance" and "strategic consensus."

There is no doubt that Mr. Nawaz Sharif has correctly identified national targets. His mistake, however, has been that he did not realise the need to transcend the habits, assumptions and perceptions of a businessman-turned-politician whose larger-than-life image till November '90 was mainly due to his standing on the shoulders of others.

It is no surprise, therefore, that despite a two-third majority, youthful exuberance and drive a solid Punjabi base and acceptability by the establishment; his government has been shaky. Mr. Nawaz Sharif may escape political oblivion but his success as prime minister is highly doubtful.

Chief Minister Aggravates Sindh Violence Government in Crisis

91AS1072A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
4 Jun 91 p 6

[Article: "Bad Omens in Sindh"]

[Text] The reported suicide of Chaudhry Abdul Majeed, Advisor to Sindh Chief Minister, may or may not have

been due to his domestic problems, but it does point to conditions of crisis in Jam Sadiq Ali's government. From the rather sketchy Press reports it seems that there was some dispute about a farm that Chaudhry Majeed owned, but that alone would hardly constitute sufficient ground for suicide. Which leads one to surmise that there could be other reasons, serious enough to drive him to desperation. Even if this surmise turns out to be wrong, it is difficult to quarrel with the thesis that the Government of Sindh is in a state of siege. To begin with, there is an ever-widening cleavage between Jam Sadiq's Sindhi supporters and his main prop: the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement]. The MQM chief has gone so far as to say that the status of his pact with Jam Sadiq is fast reaching a stage where a similar pact with the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] had to be broken off. The reason why it had not snapped already is that the MQM finds the other alternative of switching back to the PPP, even more distasteful. But if things do not mend, as they do not seem to be, everything is possible. After all, even Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Benazir's archenemy at one time, has started meeting her again.

But a far more serious threat to Jam Sadiq Ali is the law and order situation in the province. The Sindh government's writ simply does not run in the interior of Sindh—which means a greater part of the province. Both the President and the Prime Minister keep issuing statements supportive of Jam Sadiq Ali and the Jam himself keeps claiming that the law and order situation is improving but those who believe him are getting fewer and fewer. The kidnappings of foreigners may have brought into sharp focus the impotency of the Sindh administration to deal with the outlaws, but the situation was really never in control of the government. The Chief Minister's attempts to negotiate ransom deals with the dacoits, his efforts to seek the intercession of local waderas and when they fail, to take his frustrations out on them, all look like desperate stratagems of a man on the retreat. The point is: how long can it go on? The federal government is trying to cling to the Jam because it has no where else to go but apparently matters are not likely to improve under his stewardship. So the Centre is left with the stark choice of living with things which will be going from bad to worse, or to induct change in Sindh.

Favors Confrontation

91AS1072B Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 26 May 91 pp 10, 11

[Article by Dastagir Bhatti: "Is Jam Really Doing Very Well?"]

[Text] In the wake of the kidnapping of three Chinese engineers, the Sindh Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali was summoned to the federal capital where he attended a high-level meeting obviously convened in urgency with the purpose to take stock of the law and order situation in the province. Besides the Prime Minister Mian Nawaz

Sharif and his aides, the meeting was also attended by the Chief of the Army Staff General Mirza Aslam Beg and other senior military officials. The decisions taken in the crucial session were not made public. Instead an interview given by the COAS [Chief of Army Staff] to an Urdu daily published on the heels of the said moot is indirectly tantamount to awarding a certificate of excellence by Islamabad to the "satisfactory governance" of Jam Sadiq Ali over the troubled-cum-troubling southern province.

While the COAS Mirza Aslam Beg's belated comment that the democratic government of Mian Nawaz Sharif should complete its term of office may receive wider welcome from the democracy-loving quarters, yet hardly any thinking mind would like to subscribe to the unequivocal support the COAS has in the same vain extended to a highly controversial Sindh chief minister.

The daily has quoted the army chief praising Jam's administration. Mr. Beg's remarks that Jam is doing well are unfortunately very contrary to the general view which holds that the Sindh chief minister has dealt with the Sindh situation in the neem-hakeem fashion, which instead of curing the malaise has aggravated it even more.

Going by its implications the statement has not only absolved the Jam administration of all its past undemocratic deeds, it has simultaneously provided Jam Sadiq Ali with another deadly weapon that he can easily use, or misuse, against his political opponents. Aslam Beg has always been an advocate of dialogue for the resolution of political problems. Like all other saner elements, he too has repeatedly and explicitly expressed his belief in political dialogue. Yet in the present troika-plagued political dispensation, who can ensure that now armed with this new weapon of "Shabash" (well done) the Sindh chief minister shall no longer act contrary to the army chief's belief.

The negative manner in which Jam Sadiq Ali has of late responded to the dialogue initiated by the prime minister himself, through the joint IJI-PDA [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad-People's Democratic Alliance] parliamentary committee, should serve as an eye-opener. He did not only reject the very idea of forming any investigative committee, but also publicly threatened that in case members of the committee were kidnapped, his government would not bear any responsibility. Jam Sadiq Ali did not mince his words while expressing that he was offended by the very decision of the prime minister. Then he cursed the speaker of the National Assembly and painted his efforts as an interference in the provincial autonomy. Whether this thoughtful contribution of the national parliamentarians amounted to the intervention in the provincial government's autonomy or Jam's unbridled personal autonomy could be anybody's guess.

Finally, when the entire exercise that culminated in the formation of the probe team was about to lose its meaning, the chief minister half-heartedly agreed to its

visit to Karachi and that too with a precondition: it would be a complainant body and not an investigative team as envisaged in the signed accord. Prior to this he also succeeded in getting three IJI members of his choice inducted in the six-member team.

Later during the meeting, which took place at his residence in the provincial capital, Jam Sadiq was blunt enough to tell his otherwise unwanted visitors that he was merely helping the federal government in its attempt at face saving. He also wondered as to how it was possible that he (Jam) would investigate charges against his own person.

Obviously the whole exercise has turned out to be futile. And more so, given the recent pat on the back by the chief of the army staff, the Sindh chief minister can now conveniently ensure an unceremonial burial of the much-publicised though ill-fated, parliamentary probe committee.

Jam Sadiq Ali's iron-fisted performance during the last few months has stirred various tricky questions in the minds of independent observers.

Ironically, no answers were offered to questions ranging from the Jam's witch-hunting to his generously receptive arms for turncoats whom he himself had declared criminals. Morally bankrupt, some PDA MPAs [Members of Provincial Assembly] of that ilk never felt ashamed while crossing the floor nor could any law of the land touch upon their dishonest actions. Jam has now unabashedly declared that many more MPAs of the PDA would soon follow suit. "They will be converted into Musalmaans", he recently commented publicly. That is the Jam's style of governing.

Everyone is aware of the manipulative tactics Jam Sadiq Ali applied before and during the October elections. Even after the elections he did not make any bones while embracing the PDA defectors.

On top of all such actions stands the sudden and unexpected freedom of much-maligned MPA Ghulam Hussain Unnar who was later elevated to the throne of the chairmanship of Larkana District Council. It is also an open secret that almost all the important local councils in the interior have been used as tools of bribery for those who change their political loyalties.

True that ethnic tensions have subsided in the two major cities of Sindh but the overall crime situation in the province speaks volumes about the failure of the administration. Daredevils are busy kidnapping entire busloads of passengers in broad daylight. Village-folk throughout Sindh pass their days amid terror and insecurity. The kidnapping of foreigners has added a new dimension to an already sorry state of affairs. Foreign nationals working on various developmental projects are now on the run. The stoppage of work on infrastructural plans is further multiplying unemployment which in turn is breeding violence. The ruling feudal aristocracy treats common man as their slaves and corrupt and cruel

policemen openly connive with hardened criminals. Power-hungry feudal lords have pushed the province back into the medieval ages. Or possibly even beyond that. It now seems as if we are living in the Rome of the first century BC when even the roads were not safe for travelling. It was then said that, "as the roads go, so does Rome go; if the roads know peace and prosperity, so does Rome know it."

Although heavily guarded by the patrolling rangers and the Frontier Constabulary men, the roads and highways in Sindh today do not bear any testimony to peace and prosperity. If not the rulers then who is responsible for such a horrendous scenario?

How can the deeds and misdeeds of a ruler be justified when the federal minister of your country actually requests dacoits not to kidnap foreigners as it threatens the entire economic and developmental activity? This means that dacoit should come to the rescue of the government! A more illuminating example of the Sindh government's incompetence could not be found.

Let us also not ignore the fact that the chief minister's conduct has not been questioned by the PDA alone. Parties like Jama'at-i-Islami and JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] (Fazl) which formed part of the ruling IJI, are on record having severely condemned the high handedness and failures of Jam's administration. It is a pity that the Sindh chief executive saw PDA's hand behind everything that happened under the heavens. Thank God he has chosen not to involve the partymen of Ms. Benazir Bhutto in the recent incident of the kidnapping of the three Chinese engineers from Dadu. But then he had already opened a new front against the former Sindh chief minister Mumtaz Ali Bhutto who had refused to support him on the crucial issues like the water apportionment and the NFC [Nuclear Fuel Complex] award.

After throwing hundreds of PDA workers including elected representatives behind bars, Jam now seems to have turned his guns towards the SNF [Sindh National Front] supporters, many of whom have recently been jailed. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada of the PNP [Pakistan National Party] has already accused the provincial authorities of having arrested his harris under fabricated charges.

In view of the present vendetta-bruised atmosphere in volatile Sindh, comments like "Jam was doing an excellent job," are absolutely uncalled for.

An all-praise attitude towards a controversial man generates enhanced fears among the rank and files of an already suppressed opposition. The army chief's commendatory words could be fully exploited, given the fact that we are living under a political set-up in which the khaki-dominated establishment enjoys vast political authority and its word has the decisive weight.

It is incumbent upon the chief of the army staff to fully ensure that the Sindh government does not use his pat a licence to kill whosoever comes in its way [as published].

Situation Deteriorating

91AS1072C Karachi DAWN in English 11 Jun 91 p 15

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "Jam Sadiq's Hobson's Choice"]

[Text] Whether it is the first step towards the formation of a party government or the last resort in the struggle for the retention of power in his own hands, Jam Sadiq's decision to join the Muslim League will mark a new phase in the politics of the province. He is the only chief minister who has no party of his own to back him either inside or outside the assembly. An independent member that he claims to be and in fact is, he has commandeered a following of sixty-five members in a house of one hundred and nine, owing their allegiance to political parties which are poles apart and unattached individuals who can be detached from their commitments with a change or even the prospects of a change of government.

To keep this motley assemblage of parties and persons from falling apart in a fluid climate demands extraordinary skill in manoeuvring and manipulations few of his contemporaries possess. It is not just a question of riding two but too many horses at the same time, pulling in opposite directions. By no stretch of imagination we can call it a coalition government for the improvised majority did not enter into a coalition to provide parliamentary support to an elected leader, but instead elected him as a leader to support their disparate and divergent policies.

Post-election leadership cannot bridge the gulf which, itself is a product of pre-election politics. It can at best distribute the spoils of office and ministerial portfolios or share out the economic cake. These are not a substitute for a policy, which can grow only out of a meeting of minds of the leaders and a popular consensus on vital issues that confront the masses. Such a consensus the polls did not produce; what they produced instead was a confrontation. That confrontation does not exist at the leadership level alone. It has spread to the grassroots where the contagion has caused serious erosion of the ideological soil that was once compact and cohesive. No leader of stature has yet emerged on the political scene to restore that cohesion at the national level, at the provincial level it is beyond the realm of possibility, and in Sindh in particular it has almost reached a point of no return. To expect the law and order situation in the province to return to normalcy by treating it as the creation of miscreants and anti-social elements and suppress it by force, is to ask for the impossible.

The deteriorating trends indicate that all repressive measures taken in the past have not been able to contain it, nor is there any hope of its containment in the near future. To bring the province back to sanity the problem of normalisation has to be seen in a wider perspective for its solution on a lasting basis. Even the formulation of an overall policy of reconciliation sought to satisfy the

different segments of the populations, will not succeed in achieving the primary objective of the restoration of peace and harmony.

So badly has the confidence of the people been shaken by the eruption of violence that only the will to live together which was the secret of its unity in the past, can end the politics of confrontation presently prevalent both in the interior and the metropolitan areas. It would be vain to imagine that even an all-party government can provide the key to a solution, if its formation was within the bounds of practical politics.

Jam Sadiq conveniently or intentionally forgets that the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] which he is out to crush, the National Front which he ignores because of its electoral debacle and the SNA [Sindh National Alliance] on whose parliamentary support he relies, are in principle agreed on the re-assertion of the ethnic identity of the province which, they all rightly or wrongly, fear is threatened to be submerged, or at any rate, pitted against the new forces on whose assimilation they now insist more vehemently than ever before.

In the raging political controversy that has rocked the peace of the province, religion no where figures as a factor of any importance. The confrontation may be called by any name, ethnic, linguistic or racial but not religious by any means. The approach of either side is secular and non-denominational. We have travelled far from the days of independence when the differences that have now emerged with increasing virulence, were sunk to fight against a common enemy in a bid for survival. An innate desire for co-existence was then taken for granted. No longer is the spirit that brought Pakistan into existence four and a half decades ago, discernible on its political horizon; for Sindh it seems to have disappeared leaving the springs of patriotism desolate and dry. From a nation-state Pakistan has increasingly assumed the character of a multi-national state. Whatever the constitutional declarations, its political demarcations will ultimately determine the shape of things.

The demographic composition of Sindh has lent its politics a new and dangerous dimension from which the other provinces are practically free. If the Punjab is for Punjabis, the Frontier for Pakhtuns, and Balochistan for Baloch, why not Sindh for the Sindhis? That is how the argument goes. Mohajirs, Punjabis and Pakhtuns domiciled here are immigrants from either within or without. They are not locals and to be its naturalised citizens they must show their willingness to be assimilated with the local population by the adoption of its culture and language, which is claimed to be separate and distinct from the culture of Pakistan.

Refugees though they were called even in the early years, the Muslims of India had played a dominant and decisive role in the creation of Pakistan. Their enmasse migration had not robbed them of their class character. The rich, the middle, the not-so-rich and the poor, were all bracketed under the same label. But it is basically the

poor who were in need of rehabilitation. The Quaid, aware of their plight, had declared that their claim on the resources of the state was second only to defence. And yet, that claim went by default at the hands of his successors.

Of this vast dispossessed population, Mr. Suharwardy had convened a conference in 1956 known as the Mohajir Convention. Whether he would have been able to solve the problem, his tenure was too brief and too suddenly cut short for a satisfactory answer.

The problem was then economic, confined to the economically depressed. The smart and unscrupulous among the immigrants, were quick to take advantage of the opportunities in what they thought was a no man's land, where all that you could lay your hands on was yours provided you could guard that encroachment from others who were equally anxious to grab it. I had seen this spectacle with my own eyes in 1949 when I arrived here. I still know some of the non-descript individuals of those days who through forcible acquisition of evacuee property, in the course of years have acquired a high social status and political standing. The beginnings of their careers lay in these illegal acquisitions. A whole class of upstarts with its wealth and splendour it could never have dreamt of possessing in India, has become the natural object of envy of the local population and even of the deprived immigrant population called the Mohajirs.

By the ethnic criteria they are bracketed with refugees without refuge, like the blocked hereditary landlords owning extensive estates and the dispossessed haris of Sindh. Mr. Altaf Hussain and Benazir Bhutto who ceaseless talk about their determination to ameliorate the lot of the depressed and the downtrodden, on the face of it share common ground, but the grounds on which they fight their political battles, have different terrains.

Ending this ever stiffening polarisation is a formidable challenge to any politician in charge of the affairs of the province. For a chief minister who has an obvious stake in the government and no attachment to any of the contending forces accommodated in it, it is a challenging assignment. The one party to whose existence he is wholly irreconciled by necessity or design is the PPP. In dealing with it he can count on the secret and even open sympathies of the Centre, which is at loggerheads with it for reasons well known.

How long he can cash on it, is difficult to predict. What is apparent is that he cannot preside over the government as neutral empire without compromising his neutrality. The politics of negativism have to be replaced by a policy of positivism to save the situation from further deterioration. The province which has already suffered a serious setback in its development is certain to be thrown backwards which would further intensify its opposition to the Centre in times to come.

The government has no integrated power base nor the chief minister a determinate source of power. He is a

powerful person but nevertheless a solitary individual in search of an organisation. That organisation, as a shrewd politician he would not run the risk of forming. His options are therefore limited to those already in existence. The crucial question is one of leadership and following, both of which must be under his control without which for him the game is not worth the candle.

He must make a choice between the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad], the SNA and the Muslim League. The first is unthinkable because he cannot have himself declared a Mohajir in his own land and in the process lose his indigenous identity. He would then have to take his cue from the party which is a major partner in the government, he now dominates from a vantage point. A further consequence dangerous to his political future would be an unavoidable alienation of the interior where rival claimants are in the arena, more organised and effective. He cannot join the IJI which is not much of a political quantity in the province whatever be its strength at the Centre and in the Punjab. Besides, in that nine party federal coalition the presence of the Jamaat-e-Islami is an eye sore to the MQM.

Convictions apart, an alliance with SNA is not even a matter of convenience but an almost certain invitation to a loss of face and the inevitable fall of his government. Faced with this dilemma, the Muslim League was the last resort he could think of. But literally wiped off the political map of the province, it is far from, being a happy choice. For the chief minister to adopt the League or get himself adopted by it as his centre of loyalty and go about reorganising it, is a confession of its present political bankruptcy which was apparent from its dismal performance at the polls despite the continued association of the veteran politician like Pir Pagara and the former Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo who is still its president. The dilemma in which Jam Sahib finds himself will not be resolved even after he has exercised his lone option in the power struggle whose end is nowhere in sight.

Call for Military Intervention

91AS1072D Karachi DAWN in English 5 Jun 91 p 11

[Article by Ghani Eirabie: "Sindh Time-Bomb Ticks Away"]

[Text] If the sole aim of the Centre's Sindh policy is to keep PPP [Pakistan People's Party] out of power it is eminently successful. In the short-term, master-tactician Jam Sadiq Ali has succeeded in keeping his erstwhile political party off balance by deploying the techniques he learnt at the feet of his old guru Zulfikar Ali Bhutto also, in the short-term, MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], overcoming the inherent handicaps of an ethnic minority, is enjoying the power and patronage of a ruling coalition. But none has paused to weigh the long-haul consequences of the ephemeral triumph. When the logic

of history catches up with those seeking to live it up for the day the outcome could be disastrous.

This is not to suggest by any means that the "Muhajirs" should cringe or live apologetically, as though they were second class citizens which they are not. They have made more sacrifices for Pakistan than some of the indigenous population and they have a stronger claim on this ideological state than those who associate themselves sentimentally with Raja Daher rather than Mohammed bin Qasim. But by the same token, "Muhajirs" have not come here as conquering heroes and must shed whatever misconceived notions any of them may have about ethnic superiority. Sindhi is an older and richer language than Urdu; but Urdu scores over it in being the lingua franca of 120 million people. However, the intention is not to start a controversy, but to make the point that since neither the Muhajirs can be "thrown into the sea", nor the native Sindhis consigned to "the Kirthar Reservation", all those living in Sindh have to accept the inevitability of peaceful co-existence. And none should deliberately obstruct the natural process of assimilation that over time has made such disparate elements as the Turkoman from Central Asia, the Tajik from Iran and the Arab from the Middle East, almost indistinguishable, and integrated them into common Pakistani nationhood.

Unfortunately, this process is being jeopardised, by the lure of power, no matter how fleeting it is feared that participation in the Jam Sadiq coalition has placed the Muhajirs in a state of confrontation with a great majority of the "native" Sindhis, whether intended or not, and this, sadly enough, threatens to widen the gulf between the two ethnic groups. There is nothing wrong politically about the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] wanting to keep its political rival, the PPP, out of power in Sindh, as elsewhere; nor is there anything morally wrong in the MQM sharing power with the PPP's breakaway faction led by Jam Sadiq.

But what both MQM and the IJI need ponder is how the methods used by the Jam coalition to stay in power at all costs are going to affect the long-term relationship between the two communities. The question to consider dispassionately by the MQM leadership is whether the temporary exercise of power by the MQM as Jam's coalition partner will so irrevocably alienate the native Sindhis that future reconciliation will become well-nigh impossible; and whether the temporary gain justifies the risk of permanent loss.

The same question need be asked by the IJI policymakers: whether giving Jam Sadiq a free hand in Sindh just to keep PPP out of power helps or hurts the IJI's long-term prospects in the province; above all, whether the resentment piling up in the Sindh countryside will retard or promote national cohesion.

However, any fair discussion on the subject must take into account the other side of the picture. The MQM shudders to recall the "Pakka Qila" massacre under the

PPP rule in Sindh; and the IJI leadership correctly makes the point that a PPP government in Sindh would have obstructed the Centre at every step and would have sabotaged the emergence of the sort of national consensus that Mian Nawaz Sharif has been able to evolve on the sharing of Indus waters and financial allocations and retarded his economic bailout programme centred on "privatisation". It also needs to be conceded, in all fairness to Jam Sahib, that since he came to power there has been a lull in ethnic killings.

But on the other side of the ledger is the tremendous increase in ransom kidnappings and gruesome dacoities and visible alienation of a great mass of common people. The record is further smudged by the highly questionable tactics he allegedly has employed against his political opponents. Reports about mysterious disappearance of Sindh MPA's [Members of Provincial Assembly] at "critical" moments and manipulation of elections to the Senate are too persistent to be ignored; and charges of gross human rights violations by the ruling junta further raise the political temperature in the interior.

Altogether, one is left with the unhappy impression that the law of jungle prevails in Sindh; the Government has failed its primary obligation of maintaining law and order and protecting its citizens, and consequently forfeited the right to rule; that politics has become ugly and demeaning and all economic life is at a standstill. That poses the question, whether keeping the PPP out of power is a worthwhile end in itself, good enough to condone a multitude of sins.

It should be obvious to all those who love this country and prize its integrity that the crisis cannot be permitted to drag on. A desperate situation necessitates a dramatic remedy. It could take the form of: an IJI-PPP coalition; the imposition of Governor's rule; or the launching of a full-fledged military operation to stamp out lawlessness. Whatever it be, the entire nation need focus its thinking on devising a solution.

So much is at stake that no suggestion should be dismissed out of hand. The idea of a joint IJI-PPP rule—at least mutual cooperation—for a limited period to meet an emergency is not as absurd as it may appear at first sight.

Sindh is one of the gravest challenges ever faced by Pakistan; it poses three critical questions: one, whether Islamic nationhood can overcome regionalism and the threat of ethnic rift; whether the Pakistan state is strong enough to quash external subversion and internal disorder; and whether the Pakistan economy can survive a prolonged stretch of stagnation resulting from breakdown in law and order. Civilised nations have been known to close ranks in emergencies to unitedly meet threats to survival.

We have a right to presume that our political parties are smart enough to detect the peril and wise and patriotic enough to patch up their differences, however temporarily, to meet the common threat. If Sindh blows up in ethnic

strife, or falls a prey to marauding bands of bandits or machinations of crime syndicates, or collapses economically, no political party can get any mileage out of it. All will be doomed equally. Their common interest lies in retrieving Sindh from the abyss it is tottering on. Consequently any suggestion that the two major parties of the country get together—not necessarily in coalition—to stave off disintegration, merits serious consideration.

This is especially necessitated by the fact that Sindh has become a defiant mix of several inflammatory issues. The unmanageable urban sprawl has made ethnic rift highly combustible; the frantic scramble for the limited economic opportunities has converted the province into a battle-ground; the pull of political clout and easy money has made strange bedfellows of Waderas and highwaymen; and regional discontent, combining with educated unemployment, has invested crime with a glamour that makes it hard to tackle. The one reason inhibiting a crackdown against dacoits is the fear that it will be viewed as an act of calculated hostility against Sindh as a whole.

In addition, the Administration is said to have been eroded by political disaffection and rampant corruption; there have been innumerable instances of dacoits being alerted to impending police action by tips from within, enabling them to make good their escape. Worse, there has been evidence of direct or indirect police participation in dacoities and ransom-demanding abductions. True, the police in Punjab or the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] do not enjoy any better reputation, but up there, the force is corroded by corruption but not compromised by any mental reservations. Which means some force other than the civil police has to be deployed down in Sindh.

In any case, the civil police becomes sitting ducks when the criminals have been found to be striking at police-stations with rocket-launchers. Moreover, the Sindh police has been greatly demoralised by the fact that the criminals they seize at considerable risk to their life and limb, are frequently released at the instance of influential Waderas or the bidding of political heavyweights. There have even been rumours of known criminals being sheltered by cabinet Ministers, past or present.

The only reason the PPP-dominated Sindh government of the past or the IJI-dominated regime at present does not crack down real hard on the criminal syndicates is the fear that it will lose support of MPAs, politically-backed or financially-supported by those in cahoots with the criminals. The political interests of a government undoubtedly are important, but over-riding everything is public interest and the public interest requires immediate restoration of law and order, and complete guarantee for the security of life and property of all citizens, and revival of normal economic activity. Even those of us who cherish democracy do not place it above the safety of our children.

Therefore, if there is no way to eliminate insecurity, save by temporary suspension of democracy, let it be so suspended. Let the Governor's rule be imposed if unavoidable and let the Army be called in to stamp out the continuing disorder in Sindh. By the same logic if the law and order situation continues to deteriorate in South Punjab, let the Army operation be extended to South Punjab too. The Punjab is not a "holy cow" any more than Sindh. The point is: there is a limit to everything, including deference to political sensitivities, be it Punjab or Sindh.

What is not commonly realised and needs to be brought home to the common people in Sindh is that the continuing insecurity is pushing the province inexorably towards economic collapse. The root cause of its problem is economic deprivation, which is hitting the educated-unemployed the hardest. But the violence of the youthful reaction is accentuating the problem still further; frightened entrepreneurs are winding up their businesses and pulling out, further slashing opportunities of gainful employment and threatening to reduce Sindh to an industrial wasteland. The vicious circle has to be broken.

Drastic surgery has become inevitable. Whether the final crackdown against organised crime is carried out by the regular Army or by Army-backed Rangers is immaterial so long as it is well planned and well implemented; and is preceded by reliable intelligence of the machinations of those who are financially supporting and politically backing the crime syndicates and is followed by ruthless liquidation of not only the criminals but of all those who cuddle the criminals and thereby show their disloyalty to both Sindh and Pakistan.

The time-bomb is relentlessly ticking away and needs to be defused before it explodes. The alienation must not become irreversible. Soon it might be too late.

Violence in Sindh Escalates

Get-Tough Policy Praised

91AS1164A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
1 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by A. R. Siddiqi: "Sindh: Hoping for the Best!"]

[Text] It would be impossible to disagree with Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif when he refused to agree with the view that the maintenance of law and order was a 'provincial matter.' It was also a responsibility of the State (Centre), he contended, and "ultimately of Nawaz Sharif himself."

The prime minister called the wayside murder of a judge in Karachi (19 June) as an "eye-opener" for law-enforcing agencies "both of the province and the Federal Government."

The law and order situation in Sindh had gone far too long and far too bad to permit of any nuances and

hair-splitting distinctions between the central and provincial spheres of authority to control it promptly and effectively before it gets completely out of hand. About the same time last year, former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had unreservedly compared the Sindh situation to "insurgency" and "mini-guerilla war." Since then it has, disturbingly continued to go from bad to worse in spite of the change of helmsmen at the provincial and the central levels.

Jam Sadiq, Sindh's new chief minister, known for his rootedness throughout the province and his strong-arm tactics in dealing with trouble-makers, had promised his 'ryot' a regime of peace and normality within 90 days (more proverbial than real after General Zia's aborted 90-day Ops. Fairplay of 1977!). How much of Jam's promise has been followed in observance and how much of it in breach, should not be hard to see.

The Sindh situation can be pithily (and no less painfully) summed up in the single word 'snafu'—situation normal, all fouled up! The two parts of the word reflect two extreme perceptions of the same situation—diametrically opposed to each other.

The politico-administrative (official) reaction at the highest provincial levels, to Sindh's (more specifically Karachi's and Hyderabad's) cancerous eruptions of street violence and mayhem, reflects, generally, a mixture of simulated anxiety and nonchalant resignation.

Every time an incident occurs, the ordinary citizen is assured that this would not be "allowed" or "tolerated" again. As if the bloodshed or limbs broken last time had been duly "allowed" (or licensed) and "tolerated" because those had been "allowed."

As for the future, however, no more licence to kill thus for and no further. [sentence as published]

The snafu-syndrome resumes thereafter: situation normal until it is fouled up once again to bring the authorities to their feet and re-awaken them from the blissful slumber induced by their own cliché-ridden Press statements and clumsily-tailored TV clips. They would go to hospitals to give a word of good cheer to the injured or condole with the families of deceased in their homes. Cash compensations are announced according to the nature and the size of the loss suffered. Death brings almost double the amount promised for injuries (if and when paid).

After 10 days amid the silvian calm of Islamabad and the Alpine tranquility of the Murree Hills, I found Karachi a veritable cauldron of civil strife and fast dust-raining winds choking one's eyes with rocky sand particles. The two cities—Karachi and Islamabad (and its environs) might well have been parts of two different worlds with little or nothing in common either in such natural phenomenon as the weather or such man-made calamities as street violence.

Almost leaping off front pages was the news of terrorists killing a judge in broad daylight on Karachi's busiest thoroughfare and shopping centre—M.A. Jinnah Road. The judge, Mr. Nabi Sher Junejo, presided over the Special Court for suppression of Terrorist Activities. The prey thus got the hunter. The gruesome crime was committed in front of the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation—the principal custodian of the city's civic life.

Overwhelmed and shocked by the incident the president of Pakistan, said the tragic happening confirmed the presence of "organised elements" out to "scuttle" the judicial process through acts of terrorism.

The prime minister said that such acts of terrorism won't succeed in "silencing the voice" of law and justice. He hoped the Sindh Government would be able to track down the culprits.

The chief minister announced a cash compensation of Rs 2 million for the bereaved family and Rs 5 lakh each for the families of the driver and the armed guard accompanying the deceased judge. He assured the criminals would not go "unpunished" and the people would soon know "who were behind the crime."

The triple wayside murder of the judge, his gunman and the driver—sent the federal Cabinet scurrying into an emergency session. The Terrorist Affected Areas (Special Courts) Ordinance 1991 was considered and approved in draft form. Under the draft Ordinance an area could be declared as "terrorist affected" area if offences 'heinous' in nature were being committed there "on a large scale." The scale of terrorism to bring the Ordinance into action, however, remains undefined as yet. It is not exactly known if it would depend on the sheer number or the nature of terrorist acts committed. In other words, whether a single terrorist act such as committed on 18 June on Karachi's main M.A. Jinnah Road, would, or would not by itself, be enough to bring the Ordinance into effect.

Two other Ordinances involving acts of insult to Pakistan national ideology and national flag were also considered in draft form.

The news of the Cabinet meeting was splashed across the front pages promising imminent crackdown on the terrorists. Alongside it, ironically enough, appeared another news concerning a shoot-out at Landhi between two rival groups killing two constables, injuring several others.

On top of that, a member of the National Assembly [MNA], Jam Mashood ali (Sindh Chief minister's son) informed at a Press conference Islamabad, of threats to his life from "unidentified persons." Calls were made from "a close distance" by a man speaking "Urdu with a pure accent," the MNA said. The threat extended read: "Now it is your turn. We are going to begin with you." The MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] chief reported to have been receiving similar threats has already accused official intelligences of hatching conspiracies against his life.

The situation thus continues to go from bad to worse without relief. At the end of a tragedy involving human life, limb and property comes a string of statements threatening the culprits with dire consequences. Cash rewards are announced: ordinances drafted: tough action avowed. Nothing seems to work, however.

The question is how long would the snafu-syndrome be allowed to last? And how long citizens continue to face the growing uncertainties involved in their safe transit through the space of every single working day?

Jam Sadiq, came on top of Sindh's executive ladder as the Messiah who would deliver Sindh from the clutches of violence.

The question he must answer for himself is whether his Messiah has failed him or whether he has failed in his mission.

In his wide-ranging expose at a Press conference on the Sindh situation early last month, Jam Sadiq promised things would settle down in the next 10 days. It's to be hoped that by the time these lines appear Jam's promises would have at least begun moving towards fulfillment. There is nothing the ordinary citizen cares for more than the creation of the minimum conditions of peace and security required to go through a good day's work and have a good night's sleep. The rest, that is, the right sort of stable environment needed to elevate life to a higher level of civilised existence may hopefully follow in due course.

Here in Karachi, at the moment, it is more a question of physical survival than of the kind of sophistication that distinguishes life in an organised society from life in the state of nature. Chief Minister Jam thinks that the one (and the only?) answer to his problems lies in the banning of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. Long before him, a president of Pakistan also thought and acted much the same way and banned the Awami League with disastrous results.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif assures no such action had been under consideration. Nevertheless, he is determined to deal with the Sindh law and order situation firmly and sort the dacoit menace out once and for all.

"Either we or the dacoits!" the prime minister declares to make us here in Sindh hope for the best.

Literacy Abysmally Low

9IAS1164B Lahore THE NATION in English
1 Jul 91 p 11

[Text] Karachi—Sindh is lagging behind in the education sector and its literacy percentage excluding Karachi is 15.7 per cent and women only 5.3 per cent.

The drop-out rate is almost as high as 50 per cent and enrolment rate is also at a dismal level of about 50 per cent, says an official report.

Keeping in view these deficiencies, the Sindh Government is embarking on a major effort to augment the funding of the education sector.

For the next fiscal year the provincial government has allocated Rs[rupees] 6,345.9 million as against Rs 4,503.8 million during 1990-91 which represents an increase of Rs 1,838.3 million or 40.7 per cent over 1990-91, which was a record increase.

During the current financial year, 2,500 new primary schools have been opened and additional classrooms added to 450 existing primary and mosque schools. In addition, 200 existing primary schools have been reconstructed.

During the 1990-91, a total of 100 primary schools were upgraded to middle and 50 middle schools to secondary level. Forty middle and higher schools were reconstructed and 110 additional classrooms improved. All this will generate enrolment of 26,750 students.

In order to accelerate pace of achieving universal primary education, two new projects have been launched with assistance of World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB).

World Bank's-assisted Sindh Primary Education Project launched in current fiscal at cost of Rs 4,273.9 million will provide buildings to 5,670 shelterless schools, additional 400 classrooms to mosque schools, other facilities and boundary walls to 2,400 girls primary schools and major repairs to 1,000 schools.

ADB-assisted girls education project has been launched at a cost of Rs 365.6 million which will provide 46 community model schools at Union Council level and conversion of 185 primary schools into community model schools by adding three classrooms. With completion of this project, enrolment level is likely to increase by 177,200 and participation ratio would be increased to 65 per cent.

During 1990-91, besides foreign-aided projects, the provincial government proposes to set up 515 new primary schools, construction or reconstruction of 811 existing primary schools, addition of classrooms to 800 mosque schools, upgradation of 150 primary schools to middle schools, 103 middle to high schools, addition of classrooms in 150 existing secondary schools, reconstruction of 60 existing middle and high schools, opening 21 high schools and 19 colleges and establishment of six technical high schools.

Political Consensus Urged

91AS1164C Karachi DAWN in English 27 Jun 91 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "Political Solution for Sindh"]

[Text] If Prime Minister [PM] Nawaz Sharif and his key cabinet colleagues now think that the lasting Sindh crisis can be settled only through political means, they are on

the right track. Mr. Sharif intends to give top most priority to this awesomely unsettling issue and concern himself directly with it instead of leaving it to the Sindh administration as that has become imperative.

The fact is that four Sindh cabinets, beginning with the one headed by Syed Ghous Ali Shah, have failed to end the crisis during the last six years. The situation is becoming more and more explosive despite the killing of a large number of dacoits and the arrest of far more. If it was easy to settle the issue through stern measures Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali, who on becoming caretaker chief minister in August last had said that he would restore law and order within three months or, would have acted decisively one way or the other.

In a steadily worsening situation, despite the number of dacoits killed or arrested, Special Judge Nabi Sher Junejo was murdered along with his driver and guard in Karachi, while a senior NPP [National Progressive Party] leader was killed in Hyderabad on Eid day and a businessman-cum-columnist was found murdered within a week. The number of police inspectors and cops killed in separate incidents in the province has been rising steadily.

Clearly when the P.M. says that he is now giving top most priority to the Sindh crisis, and ending that is also the responsibility of the Centre, and ultimately of himself as the chief executive of the state, he has good reasons. Earlier it was the Speaker of the National Assembly Gohar Ayub who had said the Sindh crisis was interfering with his functions in the Assembly, but Jam Sadiq brushed off those remarks and challenged his authority to involve himself in the affairs of Sindh. But now it is the P.M. himself who feels compelled to intervene and find a lasting solution through political means with the help of three ordinances approved by the federal cabinet last week.

The fact is that the festering Sindh crisis with its explosive fall-out all around has far reaching consequences not only for Sindh but also the whole country. It is having a major impact on the political, economic and social life of the country as well as its external relations.

For Karachi is not only the capital of a province, the only port of the country and a major international airport, but also its most internationally known city and the commercial and financial capital of the country. When something goes wrong with Karachi seriously the world thinks something has gone wrong with Pakistan altogether. Hence despite the sweeping foreign exchange reforms and the unlimited opportunities for foreign investment too little of that is coming to Pakistan. The P.M. has said that the country cannot gain fully from the far reaching National Finance Commission Award and the historic accord on sharing of Indus waters if the Sindh crisis is not ended. The manner dacoities and kidnappings in Sindh with their very large financial rewards are

becoming infectious and being copied in other provinces, including the Punjab, is both striking and alarming.

If the Centre's financial help can be sought when the provinces need it and federal armed forces can be used by the province to put down lawlessness and disorder, the Centre can also concern itself with restoration of law and order in a province after its administration had failed despite the passage of a long time.

After all the problem is six or more years old. It was the outcome of the martial law ruler's policy of divide and rule, particularly in Sindh, a stronghold of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. The ethnic divide was promoted at a time when old and new Sindhis were coming together after a long time of mutual suspicions and alienation, and when inter-marriages were getting to be common.

Martial law rulers and their civilian associates have said the law and order problem in Sindh followed the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] movement of 1983. To that extent, they are right, but the ethnic divide was not the creation of the MRD movement but of those in power who wanted to defeat the democratic objectives of that movement and perpetuate military rule in democratic clothing. The impetus to perpetuate the ethnic divide has become stronger again in recent months.

The problem has not become more complex with divisions in the ranks of the political parties, and the efforts to divide and demolish the PPP in Sindh are being stepped up. Not only the PPP is divided with Jam Sadiq trying to rope in more and more of its MPAs [Member of Provincial Assembly] and others on his side, but also the Sindh nationalist forces, and particularly the Jeay Sindh militants. The Muslim League is divided and now divisions are appearing within the ranks of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] as well. The efforts of all these elements for ascendancy in the province are adding to the complications.

Even before the situation became so complex, Gen. Mirza Aslam Beg, Chief of the Army Staff, had maintained that the crisis in Sindh was political and should be solved politically. He maintained that even in the days of the PPP rule, he had said that he could restore law and order in the province within three days but maintaining it that way was a political issue, and hence the problem should be solved politically.

He reiterated recently that what Sindh was facing was a political problem and it should be tackled on a political basis. President Ghulam Ishaq who was asked by the Press to comment on that did not concur with that and held that it was a law and order problem. The fact is that even when his son-in-law Irfan Marwat has been in charge of law and order, with his cousin as the powerful CIA chief, he has not been able to overcome the problem. Hence the P.M. after extensive consultations

with the president and the federal ministers and provincial chief ministers, has come to the conclusion the problem needs to be solved politically, while the administrative means remained to be sustained and strengthened. Hence the three ordinances approved by the cabinet by which the P.M. set great store.

But very tough laws of the kind proposed need efficient, honest and upright police officers even when they have the help of the army units and the Rangers. Special tribunals which alone can grant bail to the accused and arrested can be useful; but first of all, the right persons have to be arrested by the police and the requisite evidence produced for conviction. If instead the wrong or innocent persons are arrested on charge of suspicion and convicted despite insufficient evidence, crimes and defiance of authority will increase.

Similarly, while those who retain arms illegally are to be sentenced to life term, care must be taken to ensure that the police do not implicate the innocent in such cases or obtain large sums from those who have such guns and let them off.

Of course, the various provincial and federal intelligence agencies can be helpful in this regard; but if hitherto they have not come up with major achievements, their capacity to produce miracles may be small now.

The scope for widespread abuse of such stern ordinances has made Ms. Benazir Bhutto to oppose them. She fears they are meant to muzzle the opposition. Even if they are not, the vastly enhanced authority for arrests, trial and conviction can be abused by the police and those assisting them. Adequate precaution should be taken to prevent such abuse. Otherwise lawlessness and disorder in the province may become far worse.

The number of arrests made following the murder of Special Judge Nabi Sher Junejo has been too large. According to press reports it varies between 950 and 3,000. Even if all of them were not arrested formally, a large number might have been detained. While Jam Sadiq Ali was quick to rush to judgement holding the PPP responsible for the triple murder, Mr. Nawaz Sharif has preferred to investigate the case and come to the right conclusion.

It has still to be determined who were the killers; but how can the PPP be held responsible even if persons like Amir Baksh Umrani, who was sentenced to death by Mr. Junejo, was behind the murder as he was expelled as President of the Singh Peoples Student Federation by Ms. Bhutto earlier? Should there be no difference between the ex-PPP leaders and workers and the present? After all Jam Sadiq, too, was a member of the PPP until recently. The official approach to PPP in Sindh now seems to be more like those of some anti-communist-baiters of the past. They could see no distinction between the communists, ex-communists and anti-communists. All were arrested indiscriminately so as to qualify for U.S. aid by showing a large number of communists in the country.

Can peace be brought to Sindh by banning PPP as Jam Sadiq is said to want? Banning a party has only driven it underground and made it more militant. When the NAP [National Awami Party] was banned by the first PPP government, it was quickly reborn as the National Democratic Party with Sardar Sherbaz Mazari as its chief in place of Wali Khan. So what Gen. Zia did not do with the PPP, the present rulers should not and make it more popular.

Secondly, banning the former ruling party of Pakistan will seriously compromise the image of the country as democratic. Neither the U.S. nor Western Europe may then be able to see Pakistan as a democracy, and that can result in curtailment of aid and other unpleasant consequences for us. Do we want such international infamy having emerged out of that only recently following the end of military rule?

The comprehensive operation to restore law and order in Sindh should follow a real political consensus. It should not be an operation that disregards law and justice. May be an all-parties conference can be a very useful step. False sense of prestige should not be allowed to stand in its way.

Amnesty for Criminals

91AS1164D Karachi DAWN in English 1 Jul 91 p 8

[Text] Islamabad, 30 June: A general amnesty for dacoits in Sindh is probably in the offing as all other options have seemingly been shot down.

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif who had had wide-ranging, high-level consultation with various branches of his government over the last one week or so on the matter of lawlessness in Sindh is said to have been advised against using the option of bringing about a drastic change in the provincial political and administrative set-ups.

And promulgation of stricter laws to deal with the situation by force too is said to have been advised against as this, it is feared, would lead to more bloodshed.

The first option had entailed jettisoning of Jam Sadiq which, it is believed, was not acceptable to a very powerful section of the government.

This section which is said to be nursing a psychopathic hatred of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and its leader, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, believes that only Jam could free Sindh from what they believe to be the 'menace of PPP.' They consider PPP a greater evil than the dacoits.

This section, it is further believed considers dacoits as part of Sindh culture and does not take it to be a serious threat to the country's integrity or its economy.

The prime minister is said to have been advised to disregard the advice of some of his aides who favour reconciliation with PPP. Those who advocate mending

fences with PPP are convinced that without its help, it would not be possible for the government to control law and order in Sindh.

In fact, according to one highly reliable source, Federal Ministers Malik Naeem and Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan, both belonging to the kitchen cabinet of the prime minister, contacted the PPP leadership and sought its cooperation in this connection.

The response was reportedly positive but the PPP made its cooperation conditional on the ouster of Jam who, the PPP feared, if allowed to remain in the saddle during the operations against the dacoits would use the cover to further persecute the party.

The prime minister reportedly accepted the condition. Then he is said to have enlisted the support of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] for his plan to impose governor's rule in Sindh and to replace the present incumbent, Mr. Mahmoud Haroon, with a former governor, Lt.-Gen (Rtd.) Jahandad.

However, some of the prime minister's more powerful supporters reportedly talked him out of it and also persuaded the MQM to continue supporting the Jam.

These powerful friends of the prime minister also reportedly told him that the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] would suffer politically if it cooperated with the PPP whatever the pressures, and in their opinion this would lead to the disintegration of the alliance which they termed a clutch of weak one-day chicks.

In fact, this section of the government is said to have decided to step up the pace of the legal proceedings against Ms. Bhutto and to bring them to their 'logical conclusion' and have her rendered politically irrelevant.

The army which has always played a decisive role in Pakistan's politics, is said to have decided for a change to remain aloof.

However, nobody seemed to want to bet on the Army remaining out of the game, come what may.

Most, however, believe that if things went from bad to worse the army would not hesitate to step in without actually taking over.

This is the eventuality which the elected government would like very much to avert. But it seemingly has no room to act decisively as long as Jam remains in the saddle in Sindh. And it cannot remove Jam as he is needed to do the dirty job for those who hate the guts of the PPP and its leader.

It appears to be real logjam. The prime minister is trying very hard to get out of it but with little success.

And in order not to appear to be doing nothing to back up his recent promises of action, he has probably decided to take the most neutral of actions and announce general amnesty for the dacoits and hope for the best.

Need for Military Solution

91AS1164E Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
7 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Zahid Ahmad Khan: "The Imperatives of Army Action in Sindh"]

[Text] The overall law and order situation in the entire province of Sindh particularly in its rural areas, has come to such a pass that only a major surgery can restore normalcy in the province. Kidnappings for ransom, political assassinations, burglaries, and violent ethnic strife have become the order of the day. The economy of Sindh is in a shambles. Some industrialists have started shifting their factories to other provinces of Pakistan. Normal civic life is also suffering from the dread-naught lawlessness in the province. The recent spate of accidents on railway lines in Sindh took a heavy toll of innocent civilian lives.

To cap it all, the dastardly murder of Session Judge, Nabi Sher Junejo—dealing with the cases of terrorist, has shown the extent to which the terrorists in Sindh can go to achieve their nefarious designs. The resultant erosion of social ethos has turned the entire psycho character of the people living in Sindh upside down. Hence, a major surgery, and not just another selective operation—the like of which the province has seen many a times before without any desired results—is needed.

Infiltrators

Highly trained infiltrators, armed with sophisticated weapons from across the border, are steadily pouring into Sindh and other sensitive border areas of Pakistan. It is unthinkable that the dacoits operating in Sindh could have sustained themselves for such a long period of time without being abetted with man and material by outside powers.

On the other hand, the past and the present performance of our police departments and other intelligence agencies is no longer a secret. They are in fact no match to these saboteurs, either in arms or in spirit.

Small wonders then, the dacoits have set up a quasi-imperium in imperio in the interior Sindh where they have their own administrative and financial set-up. Quite ironically, kidnappings for ransom is now the most lucrative self-employment in the rural Sindh for the disgruntled, unemployed educated youth.

There are news around that the government has finally decided to mount a massive action against the fissiparous elements in Sindh with the help of armed forces. Some cantankerous constitutionalists as usual have started twitting this proposed action, even though the *modus operandi* of any such action has yet to be made out by the government.

They are fearful of allowing the army any other role than to protect the borders of Pakistan because of numerous repressive martial laws in Pakistan. But they do not

realise that any powerful army action against these anti-State forces and vested interests in Sindh is just like protecting the borders of Pakistan from within, which unfortunately are being clobbered from every side.

Temporary relief from the turmoils and tribulations of lawlessness with the help of selective and occasional army action, while allowing the main causes of the disturbances to remain untouched, is tantamount to cultivate these lawless interests in Sindh.

Their other objection, otherwise very sound, is that curbing the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] movement in 1983 in Sindh—which also enticed the lawless elements of the province—with the help of the armed muscle, caused a widespread estrangement between the local population and the armed forces of Pakistan, the after-effects of which are still haunting the nation. Therefore, according to this view, military action, if at all necessary, should be subservient to the civilian control in every respect. Again, they are forgetting the stark reality that civil administration has time and again failed miserably even though helped now and then by the armed forces, to control the situation in the province.

Law and Order

For, more often than not, these criminals go scot-free from the civilian courts due to serious lacunae in our laws. True, the previous martial law governments used the army against their political opponents; but now, it is a question of restoring law and order created by lawless elements. The nation as a whole has no other choice, but to endorse any army action in Sindh. The people of Sindh are now themselves demanding a stern action against the centrifugal forces in their province.

They will only heave a sigh of relief, if the army with the active help of civil arms deliver the goods.

But a word of caution is necessary. The entire idea of army deployment in Sindh is fraught with innumerable question marks, not the least amongst these is—has the federal government asked the elected representative of Sindh to endorse its plan of action, or would the entire idea be just another federal edict for the provincial government of Sindh to be carried out, somehow or the other—over and above the constitutional consent of the people of Sindh.

In any case, the provincial Sindh Assembly, and the National Assembly of Pakistan must put their seal on any such action against the dacoits in Sindh so as to make the entire operation a unanimously agreed constitutional action by the concerted will of the entire nation. Otherwise, it is feared that the frustrated political forces in Sindh may seize upon this opportunity to create far more serious problems for the province and the country as well.

The last general elections in Pakistan saw these Federalists and Confederationists suffering one defeat after

another. Let's hope that this condign action against the lawless elements does not give them anything in the form of a grouse against the very idea of Pakistan.

Local Participation

It has perhaps become customary in the provincial politics of Pakistan, that howsoever innocuous any federal action may be the disillusioned forces in the provinces always try to exploit it for their own vested interests. Not only the provincial government of Sindh should be consulted at every move, the active participation of the local people in the proposed action against the dacoits be made a reality; for it is essentially they who are directly suffering from the lawlessness in their province.

It is but natural that in a full blooded action against the lawless elements, the innocent and the law abiding citizens, in no small way, usually get caught in the fracas. Therefore, utmost care should be taken to make the entire operation discriminate and precise.

But military action will have failed of its real objectives if the underlying social, economic and political causes behind the rising graph of lawlessness in the provinces are not seriously taken into account and rectified. It is not correct to believe that all the criminals, burglars, and highwaymen operating in Sindh are compulsive desperadoes.

Even doctors owing to high unemployment rate in the rural Sindh are turning dacoits. It is rightly feared that after every clean-up operation, these criminals and dacoits always reappear. If the government can put down industries in poppy growing areas of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] to discourage opium production; why does it not emulate this healthy precedent in the rural Sindh where unemployment is the stalking fear of the educated and the illiterate.

The current sorry state of affairs in the province of Sindh is due to the failure of successive governments who turned a deaf ear to the socio-economic and socio-political problems of the Province of Sindh. Now the situation is getting out of control there. Gone perhaps is the time for mere palliatives.

Criminals Confident

91AS1164F Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
4 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Farhatullah Babar: "The PM's Dilemma"]

[Text] It was commonly said that the Sindh government had completely failed and no law but the law of the jungle prevailed in the province... Murders, kidnappings, dacoities, arson and bloody disturbances became the order of the day... Thus stated President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in his address to the nation on 6 August last year, explaining reasons for the dissolution of Assemblies and sending the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government packing home on that day.

Exit Benazir and enter Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali and the talented son-in-law Irfanullah Marwat as the unelected advisor on Home Affairs in charge for police and law and order. Now consider the following picture of the last one month only to consider how much civility has returned to the turbulent province of Sindh.

On 18 June, a judge of the Special Court Mr. Nabi Sher Junejo is murdered in broad day-light on a busy Karachi street, along with his gunmen and driver. The murder was not without prior warning; several agencies had warned the government that the judge was on the hit list. The culprits are still at large, although the government rounded up thousands of political activists on charges of suspicion.

For the first time, foreign nationals are kidnapped by dacoits and their release secured after weeks during which ransom money is negotiated amid allegations as to who in the administration got how much from the booty. Nawab Sultan Ahmad Chandio, who was despatched by the government to secure the release of the Chinese stated publicly, in a press conference that "the whole administration of Jam Sadiq was longing for a booty in the ransom and they were part of all the dirty business (of dacoity)." The kidnappings of the Chinese and the Japanese was in addition to the over-two-dozen kidnappings of Pakistani traders, businessmen and ordinary citizens.

A senior army officer and his men belonging to a certain sensitive agency are kidnapped in Landhi on 20 June, kept in detention and tortured; the operation reportedly having been supervised by a provincial minister and an influential MNA [Member of National Assembly] belonging to an ethnic group. Jam Sadiq's response: "I hold the defence and security personnel in the highest esteem. We will bring the culprits to book." No arrests made so far.

Large-scale looting of animal hides from Edhi Trust vans takes place on the Eid day. Unprovoked kidnapping and beating up of his men engaged in a noble cause enraged the veteran social worker to give expression to his *cri de coeur*. I will stop working here and migrate to India," an anguished Edhi told the BBC. [quotation marks as published] Despite tall claims to spare no one involved in criminal activities, the provincial government has still not arrested the culprits who are too well known and even hinted at by Edhi himself. Neither Maulana Edhi's tormentors nor the kidnappers of the Army men will, however, be brought to book because of the political expediency of Jam Sadiq to save his coalition from imminent collapse.

Three dissident MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] MPAs have tendered their resignations and warned that if the Sindh Chief Minister did not behave, there would be more such resignations. They also publicly alleged that the Sindh Chief Minister was working to cause a split in the MQM ranks and paving the way for the creation of Sindhu Desh.

A Minister of Balochistan and chief of the Hjalawan Tribe, Sardar Sanaullah Zehri, is taken in 'protective custody' on 26 June at Jacobabad where he had gone to campaign for the PNP [Pakistan National Party] candidate, Mr. Abdul Hafiz Pirzada, against Jam Sadiq's candidate. The thoughtless move provoked protest strikes in Balochistan and disrupted road and rail links between the two provinces. An inter-provincial war seems to be brewing as Balochistan has threatened to convene a special meeting of the Provincial Assembly and also to raise the issue at the CCI [Controller of Capital Issues] meeting.

On Monday, 1 July, ethnic violence erupts in Sukkur killing three each from the rival groups. No arrests made so far. Worried by the grave law and order situation in the country the prime minister put off his scheduled visit to Japan causing 'disappointment' to the would-be hosts and hurting both the country and government.

At the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] parliamentary party meeting about a month ago, most of the legislators urged the prime minister to take immediate and drastic measures to bring normalcy to Sindh where "the chief minister has miserably failed" amid charges that dacoits were using a house in Ketji Jatoli leased by Jam Sadiq Ali from the former care-taker Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoli.

With remarkable candour characteristic of an honest person, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told foreign journalists at a breakfast last month that Sindh was his biggest problem which has jeopardized his economic reforms programme. Indeed, according to reports, the pace of investment in Sindh has already slowed down and the Nooriabad industrial estate is facing closure following the migration of investors back to Punjab.

A comparison between the present rule of civility and the erstwhile 'law of the jungle' was dramatised by the Sindh High Court's stricture against police practice of keeping people under detention for long periods by obtaining remand in one case and releasing them for lack of evidence only to rearrest them immediately in another case, to obtain a fresh remand. The Court further directed that since the provincial home secretary was perhaps not aware of such things happening, he should attend the Court. By the time these lines were written, the home secretary was yet to testify before the Court.

It must be said to the credit of the prime minister that he realizes the gravity of the problem. That is why on Eid day he told journalists in Lahore that now either he or the dacoits will stay. And that is why in one of his lucid moments he demonstrated rare pragmatism when he told the foreign journalists that he realized that the Sindh problem could be tackled if the PPP and Benazir cooperated with the government.

But the problem cannot be tackled as long as Mr. Nawaz Sharif does not realise the distinction between controlling lawlessness and creating conditions for peaceful coexistence. Unfortunately, there are elements in the

power structure who believe in suppressing lawlessness, forgetting what the suppression of MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] by General Zia in 1983, without creating conducive political conditions, did to the country.

No Indications

There are no indications that the powers-that-be will allow Nawaz Sharif to act according to his realisation of a distinction between suppression of lawlessness and creating conditions for civility. Only last Monday, Chief Minister Jam Sadiq Ali met the president and submitted "proof of the PPP's involvement." It is immaterial whether the people and even the prime minister believe him or not. The man in the white house in Islamabad apparently does and that has made the difference.

That is why the president lauds the services of Jam Sadiq Ali for 'improving law and order' at a time when the prime minister expresses his dissatisfaction with the situation in Sindh. Jam Sadiq also has promptly returned the compliment. Defending his Home Affairs Advisor Irfan Marwat, he said, "it is no sin to be the president's son-in-law. [quotation marks as published]"

Yes, indeed, quipped a critic, "but it is a sin to protect the son-in-law even when he oversteps the law."

Mr. Nawaz Sharif has certainly made a tall claim about flushing out dacoits. Perhaps, he did not seem to realize that as long as those holding political levers in their hands did not see the prevailing 'law of the jungle' in Sindh by removing blinkers put on their eyes both by in-laws and out-laws, it may be that he and not the dacoits who will have to go first.

Despotic Ruler

91AS1164G Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
30 Jun 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Quetta, 29 June—Sardar Sanaullah Zehri, Provincial Minister for Local Bodies and a leader of PNP [Pakistan National Party] has said that Sindh Province has become a brewing hell under the despotic rule of Jam Sadiq Ali and it seems that another Bangladesh is getting shape.

He said this while addressing a Press conference after his release on bail, flanked by Chief Minister Taj Mohammad Khan Jamali and other Provincial Ministers in the passengers lounge of Quetta Airport, soon after his arrival from Karachi on Saturday evening. He said a delegation of the Balochistan Government under the leadership of Chief Minister Taj Mohammad Khan Jamali will move to Islamabad to hold meetings with the president and the prime minister to apprise them of the "third-rate tactics" and derogatory attitude of Jam Sadiq Ali with the ministers and politicians of Balochistan at the hands of Sindh Police.

He said what Jam had done was inconceivable and he would have to regret it. He demanded the dissolution of

Jam Sadiq's government and added that the protest against Jam Sadiq's attitude would continue until the dissolution of his government.

About the role of the Balochistan Government during his arrest in Sindh, he said though it was positive, so far the Federal Government had not accepted the Balochistan Government's plea. He held the Federal Government responsible for his arrest and added they thought we were not elected representatives.

He said his party will reconsider its alliance with the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] in the province and decide about the future line of action. He said the Balochistan Government is the weakest Provincial Government which has no say at the Centre.

Earlier on his arrival at the airport along with Provincial Home Minister Mir Zulfiqar Ali Magsi and Adviser to Chief Minister Fareedoon Abadan, he was received by Chief Minister Taj Mohammad Jamalim, provincial ministers and a number of PNP leaders and workers.

After addressing the Press conference he led a procession waiting outside the airport building.

Sindh Situation Continues To Deteriorate

Alienation Nearly Total

91AS1211A Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Eqbal Ahmad: "Pakistan's Predicament"]

[Text] Ours is truly a land of betrayed promises. Dictatorships and democracies have been alike in this respect. So far not one government in four decades has fulfilled the promises it had made; and none has failed to violate the public trust. We know the results of that betrayal; they include defeat and dismemberment; abject dependence on foreign aid; a population largely illiterate, malnourished and, according to all civilised measures, grossly underprivileged. Things do not get better here; they get progressively worse. Today, Pakistan is held hostage by a multiplying host of armed minorities—of feudal lords, drug lords, dacoits, soldiers, and politicians.

Pakistanis remain, nevertheless, an optimistic people. Here, hope generally triumphs over experience. When silver linings interrupt the dark patterns of our national life, we tend to respond positively, and give them the benefit of our best expectations. At the climax of our greatest national disaster, we welcomed Mr. Z.A. Bhutto like a saviour. He proved instead to be a prince of our disorder. At the height of Mohammad Ziaul Haq's dismal reign, we received Miss Bhutto as though she were Joan of Arc. When she turned out to be the queen of incompetence, we swallowed President Ghulam Ishaq Khan's constitutional putsch, and let her go. We looked forward, beyond rigged ballot boxes, to good governance under a Prime Minister of non-feudal background.

At first, the scene appeared brighter than we were accustomed to. The government of Mr. Nawaz Sharif commanded a comfortable parliamentary majority; his allies ruled the provinces. Relations between the President and Prime Minister seemed cordial. The main opposition party was conducting politics responsibly despite its justifiable bitterness over the dismissal of its government last August, and over the politically motivated prosecution of its leaders and cadres. The military command evinced commitment to its profession, and maintained a certain distance from political decision making. For the first time in four decades most requisites of a stable democracy were in place.

On his part, Prime Minister Sharif conveyed an impression of capable governance. He sought peace with his adversaries, and the opposition responded wisely. The accord between IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] and PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] last April promised the triumph of civility over political vendettas and horse-trading which have historically discredited parliamentary politics, devalued judicial proceedings, and rendered Pakistan vulnerable to soldierly ambition. The federal government's successes in reaching agreements with the provinces on the allocation of income and water had enhanced its credibility. Its early economic measures were sound enough to please business men and investors, and to arouse expectations of sustained growth though not, alas, of distributive justice.

Our hopes have begun to unravel again. The silver linings have receded, revealing a deepening crisis of state and society. Symptoms of the malaise have appeared across the country from the Indian Ocean to the Khyber Pass. To varying degrees we all know them. I should recall the salient details:

Sindh's alienation is nearly total. The state is increasingly viewed there as the largest warlord; and the dacoits are perceived as its competitors. The government's inability to apprehend even the boldest, and most provocative Daku is but one indication of citizens' neutrality between the two loci of power.

One cannot blame Sindhis. Few people carry as heavy a load of governmental corruption and incompetence as they do. During a visit last February I found a multi-million dollar, foreign financed irrigation project, active on paper but actually non-functioning. This mind-boggling case, by no means unique, was reported last month in a monthly magazine. Yet, as far as I know no action has been taken either by the federal government or by the Chief Minister.

Dacoits are starting to affect even our foreign relations. When it had to conduct protracted negotiations with robbers in order to obtain the release of tourists from Japan—our major economic partner—and engineers from China which is our sole strategic ally, the state acknowledged its moral bankruptcy and loss of authority in Sindh.

Official apologists glibly assert that dacoities have been a tradition in Sindh. It is a shameful and dangerous rationalisation of their failure to fulfil the minimum responsibility of government which has been, since times immemorial, the maintenance of law and order, safety of roads, villages and towns. If they are serious about reaffirming the authority of the state, our highest officials should begin by acknowledging the honest truth: that there is no government in Sindh. Mr. Jam Sadiq's outfit is merely a costly scandal.

Karachi is in many respects the jugular of Pakistan; our melting pot, and window to the world. Nearly 50 percent of Pakistan's commerce and industry has been concentrated there; more than half of Pakistan's professionally employed university graduates work there; about half of the government's income tax and 99 percent of customs taxes are collected there; its estimated nine million citizens come from all parts of the country and make this city a monument to our nationhood. Yet, thanks to years of neglect and the self-serving myopia of Ziaul Haq's dictatorship the city became, beginning in 1985, the stage for civil wars.

Today, Karachi is in the grip of neo-fascist terror. Militia control its streets, setting up armed check points, questioning citizens, punishing dissenters, cowing the press, and forcibly denying its most vulnerable citizens access to alternative authority, including the moral authority of such humanitarian organisations as the Edhi Welfare Trust. In Karachi, as in Sindh, the government looks on as the state disintegrates before their eyes.

Officials and politicians in Islamabad, Lahore, and Rawalpindi explain it all away. 'Sindh is an exception. Sindhis have their own ways; and Jam Sadiq is among the best and brightest they have. Karachi is a special case, a hodge podge of ethnic disputes, an overgrown village, the cockpit of social change. But a dynamic place, nevertheless. Give it time, things will settle down. We have heard this before, for example in 1971, from those masters of rationalisation.

But Sindh is not Bengal. It is organically linked to the rest of Pakistan. Unless we start to cure it, the cancer of social violence shall spread; slowly perhaps but surely. So it has. Recent incidents in Lahore and Sheikhupura have obviously worried Mr. Nawaz Sharif. But the steps he and his brother took do not suggest that they know either the disease or the cure.

Much more worrisome than the mass murders in Lahore and Sheikhupura is the emergence of the QABZA [expansion not given] group in the Punjab, and the fact that the MSF [The Student Union in Pakistan] has dared to collect JUGGA [expansion not given] taxes from truckers. The murders must be the handiwork of criminals or/and saboteurs; they should be susceptible to intelligence and policing. But QABZA and MSF are militia in incubation, the state's competitors born of failure in our politics. They cannot be dealt with by passing new ordinances, nor by hunting al-Zulfiqar.

Combating and containing them would require political will, and a commitment to public order over petty political gains.

I have not mentioned NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Balochistan which have been relatively quiet. It would be a mistake to assume their stability. Together, the two provinces are home to three and a half million Afghan refugees. Pakistan missed several opportunities to bite the bullet, and help bring peace in Afghanistan. There is but a dim glimmer now of hope for peace, and no chance of the refugees returning in the near future.

As the United States and its Sheikhly allies abandon them, these hapless people confront the mounting pressure of starvation. They have nowhere to go except out of the refugee camps. One shudders to imagine the consequences of even half the alien population becoming permanent muhajirs in the drug infested, gun-filled tinder box of Sarhad and Balochistan. As far as I can tell, no one in Islamabad has devoted a moment of serious reflection on this coming crisis of Pakistan.

Lawless Society Regretted

91AS1211B Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "The Uses of Sadiq Ali"; italicized words as published]

[Text] It takes a strong example sometimes to drive a point home. Take the state of law and order. Did we all not know that it was bad and getting worse every day? But it took the murders in Lahore and Sheikhupura to drive the point home.

Similarly, with regard to the feeling that democracy in Pakistan suffers from many shortcomings. It takes a Jam Sadiq Ali to bring this subliminal feeling to the surface.

What is it about the Jam that so shocks our more excitable compatriots? I suppose the totally ruthless manner in which he exercises power. It is true that arbitrariness is not an endearing quality. But neither is it a very distinctive or rare quality in this country.

If the Jam used coercive tactics and underhand means to get himself elected Chief Minister, other men before him have used similar methods to silence their political opponents or to win them over. In this connection Ayub, Bhutto and Ziaul Haq come immediately to mind. If Jam Sadiq used questionable methods to win the Jacobabad by-election, it can very well be asked, when have by-elections not been rigged in this country? Or, for that matter, general elections?

In this country we have either rigged elections or when, through an oversight, we have allowed elections to be held freely and fairly we have not accepted their results. As far back as 1951, when elections to the Punjab legislative assembly were held, charges of rigging were levelled by the opposition. The 1954 elections in East Pakistan swept a coalition of Bengali nationalists to

power. The Centre not liking that outcome soon dismissed that government and sent Iskander Mirza to rule the province.

The 1970 elections were free and fair but reluctance to accept their results led to the breakup of the country. Charges of rigging in the 1977 elections sparked a protest movement which paved the way for Ziaul Haq's coup d'etat. The referendum staged by Ziaul Haq in 1984 was so badly rigged that it became a joke throughout the country. The 1985 assembly elections were not rigged. But then with the political parties out of the race "positive results" had been guaranteed in advance.

If Ziaul Haq had been alive it is anybody's guess how he would have conducted the 1988 elections. But with him no longer on the scene, those elections were held in an open and fair manner. Even though the establishment was rattled by the outcome, eventually, after a big of heartburning, it accepted Ms. Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister. That she made a hash of the job later was her fault, no one else's.

Coming to the 1990 elections, wasn't the entire process that brought Nawaz Sharif to power tainted with partisanship and onesidedness? The composition of Mr. Jatoti's caretaker setup, the one-sided references against the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the official help extended to IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] candidates—don't these things come under the rubric of rigging? If the nation calmly accepted those results, why should it be so upset by the result of the Jacobabad by-election? The methods employed to get a favourable result in the 1990 elections were subtle. The methods employed by Jam Sadiq to defeat Mr. Hafeez Pirzada were crude. The difference is one of degree not substance.

It can, of course, be argued that the time has come to turn a new leaf and forget the bitterness of the past but that Jam Sadiq's actions are an obstacle in the way of national reconciliation. This argument would be more convincing if there was evidence to suggest that there has been a genuine change of heart in the federal government in Islamabad. That it is ready not only to withdraw the one-sided references against the PPP but also ready to accept a PPP government in Sindh. After all, if foul means were used to rob the PPP of victory in Sindh in 1990, national reconciliation only makes sense if that wrong is righted.

Is the Centre prepared for such a course of action? If the references against the leaders of the PPP are withdrawn, what is to become of all the arguments deployed to justify the dismissal of the National Assembly in August last year? And if the possibility of a PPP government in Sindh is to be countenanced, what is to become of the IJI's allies in the province who, in that case, would be left out in the cold?

To suppose that Jam Sadiq is acting on his own in Sindh is to be guilty of a cardinal error. He is Islamabad's agent in the province, giving practical shape to a scheme of things conceptualised in the capital. His methods can be

decried but not the objectives he is pursuing. The blame for the objectives must be laid at Islamabad's door.

Which means that if the federal government really wants to turn a new leaf in national politics, it must first change its game plan for Sindh before thinking of changing its agent there. For its current objectives there is no one half as effective as Jam Sadiq Ali. Or indeed half as convenient. He does all the dirty work and gets blamed for it while his masters in Islamabad put on masks of hurt innocence. It's not much different from having one's cake and wanting to eat it too.

But for Jam Sadiq Ali it would have been easy to forget the antecedents of the present political structure. It would also have been easy to be lulled into the belief that Pakistan had left its authoritarian past behind it and had entered an era of genuine democracy. To see the Sindh Chief Minister in action is to be disabused of that notion. Not because he is an aberration in this society. But because he is a genuine representative of it. Every politician in office in Pakistan has the same instincts as Jam Sadiq Ali. It is just that not everyone has his ability to give practical shape to them.

The bitter truth to which at least I am being slowly reconciled is that the trappings of democracy sit ill on our society. The British left behind them a rich display of constitutional government—high-sounding legislative assemblies, bewigged judges and black-robed lawyers mouthing Latin phrases about the rule of law. But none of this outer pageant touched the inner core of our society. Beneath the surface we remained the primitive peasants and *jagirdars* that we had always been. The 44 years of our history as an independent country is a testimony to the effort we have made to return to our past. The arbitrariness of our rulers, our repeated failures with democracy, the gradual debasement of every institution of government, the slow collapse of everything that sustains the rule of law in society: all indicate the direction in which we have chosen to travel.

There is no use frothing at the mouth about a person like Jam Sadiq Ali. He is just a reminder of what we truly are. Arbitrariness and authoritarianism are common political virtues in Pakistan. Jam Sadiq just possesses them to an uncommon degree. As a people we have neither any respect for the law nor any understanding of its role in a civilised society. When a ruler uses his authority wilfully and gets away with it, he is merely underlining one of the consequences of a lawless society.

Sindhis Losing Jobs

91AS1211C Karachi DAWN in English 14 Jul 91 p 7

[Text] Hyderabad, 13 July: the central leaders of Jeay Sindh Students Federation [JSSF] (Jakhraani group), Zulfiqar Mangi, Suhail Pathan, Saif-ur-Rehman Jatoti, Nooruddin Jamali, Hasan Junejo and Abdul Salam

Saheto, have condemned the re-trenchment of thousands of Sindhi officers and workers from Akram, Al-Noor, Ansari and Dadu Sugar Mills, Steel Mill, Port Qasim, Telephone and Telegraph, Education and various other departments.

In a joint statement issued here on Saturday they said that the government was being blackmailed by the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and thousands of Sindhis had been victimised and non-Sindhis had been employed in their places.

They demanded the re-instatement of retrenched Sindhi workers and end of prejudice and bias against the Sindhis.

In another statement the JSSF leaders have lashed out at the Allied Bank zonal chief Nawabshah for his step-motherly treatment of the Sindhi employees.

They said that the partisan attitude of the zonal chief who enjoyed the protection of MQM had caused a lot of resentment among the Sindhi employees.

They alleged that the brother of the zonal chief was SDM Sub-Divisional Magistrate] in Karachi.

They demanded the immediate dismissal to the zonal chief.

Pandemonium Imminent

91AS1211D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
12 Jul 91 p 6

[Article by Zahur Ul Haq: "Sindh: Time Running Out"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Things were apparently going well for the Prime Minister until two months ago when, unexpectedly, they began to go wrong. Sindh's law and order problems further deteriorated, the U.S. refused to renew its aid to this country, the Punjab was gripped in horrifying murders, the Bank of England swallowed up Pakistan-run BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] throwing hundreds of workers out and confiscating the accounts of over 100,000 Pakistanis settled in England. On its own, the government, hoping to restore some semblance of law in the country, ordered confiscation of all illegal arms without realising the order's implications in NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and Balochistan. Driven to panicky decisions, the government violated the autonomous character of Azad Kashmir by bringing out its Prime Minister and imprisoning him in Pakistan—an obvious case of inter-state kidnapping and illegal detention.

Sindh's law and order problem is not a creation of the Nawaz government but, in fact, its *damnosa hereditas*. Things had started going wrong there during the latter half of General Ziaul Haq's rule. It may be remembered that on taking over and imposing martial law in the country, Ziaul Haq had convincingly stated that the partial martial law imposed by his predecessor was a

mockery and the real one being imposed by him will show what martial law meant. It certainly gripped the people in fear and panic. Some public hangings and whippings brought civilisation back to an uncivilised society—for a while. It created a new civilisation of *nouveaux riches* and overnight millionaires with price of land in Islamabad touching New York's. CDA [Capital Development Authority] gave the highest priority of allotment to those with influence and power. The capital city's Blue Area began to rise rapidly as allottees paying the premium price of 7-10 lakhs for a kanal of land sold it the same day for Rs.[rupees]40 lakhs to 50 lakhs to private purchasers. But to revert to Sindh, according to Mr. Jatoti, lawlessness has invaded village-life making difficult the cultivation of land and reaping its produce. Threats to and dacoit attacks on villagers are likely to prompt the latter to join up with the brigands for reasons of personal security and well-being. If this spirit catches on from hamlet to hamlet and township to township, normal living, as one conceives it, will come to an end and the countryside delivered to the rule of the gun. Government's revenue collection will become a problem and the work of the entire taxation and revenue machinery halted, leading to tremendous losses to the national exchequer. This possibility needs to be seriously considered and this aspect of lawlessness examined with a view to finding means of restoring confidence among village dwellers. It is obvious that they will need to be provided security—a task beyond the resources of the police. Since the police cannot provide the security, the latter will have to be the major responsibility of the locally-shared arrangement between the villagers themselves. How they would manage it without arms capable of repelling dacoit attacks with sophisticated weapons, is a difficult question. Perhaps, the answer lies in providing sophisticated weapons to the village headman and his deputies with the prayer that they themselves will not turn dacoits.

In Karachi and other big towns, it would be too optimistic to hope that government's efforts to retrieve unlicensed weapons are going to meet with success. The *Waderas* consider it a part of their sumptuary glory to be equipped with weapons in proportion to their aristocratic lineage. Elsewhere, evil begets evil and with all the killings around many people—shopkeepers, the vested interest, millionaires and the young, fiery generation (for fun or for money-making)—possess and will continue to possess lethal arms with or without justification. The government's executive order banning the keeping of unlicensed arms does not have a legislative cover and could, possibly, be challenged in court. The position has its own aspect in NWFP and Balochistan—provinces whose fighting people don't know a thing about arms licences but have kept guns and daggers since their history began.

Sindh, as said earlier, started turning sour in the latter half of Ziaul Haq's rule and from then on, each passing day has increased the tempo of crime in that province. For reasons best known to her, Benazir Bhutto issued

thousands of licences for sophisticated weapons throughout the country and even her loyal Interior Secretary was forced, officially, to protest to his Minister against arms laundering on a scale that could trigger a civil war in the country. Why Benazir deliberately planned such a situation requires to be investigated. A civil war, however, did not come about but civil killing did in an intensity and with a horror that has left people aghast. Government has every justification for imposing a heavy penalty on people possessing illicit arms. The word "illicit," however, leaves untouched those thousands who possess arms through licences. What does the government intend to do about them?

If force can only be met with force, and Sindh, or any province, is to be rid of terrorists, the public will require action and no excuse of "democratic practices or compulsions" will be acceptable as necessitating a "soft" approach in the face of heinous public assassinations. In rural Sindh, dacoits must be chased out of their forest hide-outs by aerial bombardment, if required. In the urban areas they, and the *Waderas* who protect them, must be ruthlessly dragged out of big mansions and publicly whipped. Let there be no inhibitions over cleaning pockets of terrorists by resorting to 'mini'-military actions against them. Karachi and Hyderabad could put up with war like operations against the goondas for two weeks or more rather than suffer terrorism for ever. It is a time for decision for Mr. Nawaz Sharif and a time to test his administrative ability. He should bear in mind that such a highly democratic country as Britain puts on an autocratic military look when dealing with Irish rebels.

Primarily and finally, the Prime Minister has to decide whether he is a patriot first and any body else next, whether it is more important for him to rid the country of terrorism or to try and hold on to power and never lie blamed for being undemocratic. Doubtless, may dogs will bark and bite if he embarks on a country-cleaning crusade. Let him proceed democratically, if he must and obtain legislative authority for the steps he contemplates. But he had better hurry up. There is not much time left between now and pandemonium.

Sindhi Language Ignored

91AS1211E Karachi DAWN in English 8 Jul 91 p 13

[Text] Hyderabad, 7 July: The Convener, "Sindhi Boli Saath" (Sindhi Language Association) Mr. Hafeez Qureshi has said that ever since the coming into being of Pakistan, no government had taken any interest in the development and promotion of the original languages of Pakistan like Sindhi, Siraiki, Punjabi, Balochi and Pashto and the Sindhi language was being crucified at the altar of national language.

Addressing a news conference at the local press club here on Sunday, he said that a conspiracy had been hatched to eliminate the Sindhi language in a systematic manner.

Mr. Hafeez Qureshi pointed out that "we had not supported Pakistan for the love of Urdu but for the ideology of Pakistan which was linked with Islam and not with any particular language."

Mr. Qureshi was of the opinion that the development of provincial languages would guarantee the unity and solidarity of Pakistan.

He recalled that when the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government passed the National Language Bill in the National Assembly, no objection was raised in Sindh but when the Sindh Assembly adopted the Sindhi Language Bill, all hell broke loose.

He regretted that in the Sindh Assembly where the Urdu speaking members were in minority, they exercised their right of speaking Urdu but the organisations like KMC [expansion not given] where the Urdu speaking people were in majority, the Sindhi language had been declared a persona non grata.

Mr. Qureshi demanded that Sindhi, Siraiki, Balochi, Pushto and Punjabi languages should be given their rightful place in the educational institutions, media, including official media, business, and politics and the conspiracy to close Sindhi medium schools should be stopped.

The other demands put forward by the Convener "Sindhi Boli Saath" included equal recognition of writers, intellectuals and journalists of provincial languages with those of Urdu, equal representation of local artists in national or international tours, culturalists or otherwise, parity in respect of payment in advertisement published in the regional press, mandatory provision for Sindh government servants to pass the Sindhi language examination, provision for Sindhi typewriters and computers in all the Sindh government offices, introduction of Sindhi language in the law courts, printing of Sindhi language words on currency notes and declaration of all the regional languages of Pakistan as the original languages of Pakistan.

Corruption at High Levels Viewed

91AS0959B Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 9 April 91 p 4

[Editorial: "Rampant Corruption"]

[Text] Our budget has a deficit of 60 billion rupees. Each year direct and indirect taxes are levied to reduce this deficit and other measures such as increases in water, gas, and electricity rates; increases in air and railway fares; and decreases in government subsidy on basic necessities of life are implemented to make the life of a common man even more miserable. When these people with limited income scream against this merciless inflation, to console them their salaries are slightly increased. This, in turn, taxes the national budget even more. However, despite this annual exercise and increasing budget deficit, consumerism is on the rise and the life of the common man is becoming more and more unbearable.

In our opinion, the continued deterioration of our national economy is the result of inefficiency and corruption at administrative levels. Taxes are increased every year, but no difference is seen in collecting taxes because cheating on taxes is very common. All this cheating happens because of the cooperation between corrupt government officials and those who cheat on taxes. The fact is that if we clean up the system of tax collection, we will not need to levy new taxes. Millions of rupees go uncollected from income tax, customs, and excise duties because of corrupt practices. Most of the weight of income tax falls on the salaried people who cannot hide the amount of their income. The rest of the people who can hide their real income pay very little income tax. As for agricultural income, no government has dared to tax it ever since Pakistan was established.

The customs duty is also a very important source of income for our national treasury. It could prove a source of huge income if customs personnel stop corrupt practices or are forced to do so by a thorough investigation. This department causes the government to lose millions of rupees each year. The irregularities that the auditor general has identified in his report indicate how government officials abuse their authority and how mercilessly they loot the national treasury to fill their own pockets. The problem is that this loss of money in customs is the result of not only corruption but also because of the ineffectiveness of employees and their criminal negligence of duties. These problems in the customs department is no hidden secret and every citizen that comes in contact with this notorious department learns all about their corrupt practices. We are not talking about rumors here. The auditor general has identified the problems in this department and how it hurts the nation. He had submitted his report to the federal government, however, it is depressing to know that the government has not taken any steps to curb this corruption after learning all of the full details. The auditors prepare such investigation reports routinely and a lot of noise is made when these reports are made public, however, no changes are made. Who will remedy this sickness of procrastination and corruption?

Corruption in our economic system is so rampant that even big financial organizations and banks are not safe from it. Thousands of people do not bother to pay back the loans they take out from banks. Those who have some political clout even get their loans excused. Others take advantage of the loopholes in our banking system. According to a news report, the number of people defaulting payment on their loans is over 51,000 and the amount of unpaid loans is 19.87 billion rupees. How long will this practice of looting the national treasury continue and how long will the annual budgets keep putting new weight on the common man? There is a limit to everything and if this typhoon of corruption is not checked, it will drown everything around us.

Government Funds Said Being Transferred Overseas

91AS0959D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
13 May 91 p 13

[Article: "Billions Being Transferred Abroad; Some Social and Political Leaders Involved"]

[Text] Washington (Special report)—A large number of influential political leaders and rich people in Pakistan have been said to be transferring huge amounts of money abroad. This money is being transferred via regular banking channels also. Since this affair is being investigated now, it would not be appropriate to reveal the names of these individuals. The sources close to the agencies that are investigating this affair here and abroad revealed that many statements have been recorded in this context and those who have earned money illegally are being investigated. Informed sources revealed that graft and bribery is rampant in the government bureaucracy. It is estimated that several political and social leaders transfer 600 billion to 725 billion rupees to foreign countries every year. They have deposited huge amounts of money in foreign banks and they have permanent homes in those countries for themselves and their families. Pakistan has not yet considered joining any other international organization devoted to stop drug smuggling except the Vienna Convention. According to a report published in the KHALIJ TIMES, 2 to 2.5 billion rupees is transferred abroad daily without any written documentation.

PDA Leader Criticizes Shari'a Bill

91AS0888A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
13 Apr 91 pp 7-8

[Article: "Those Who Do Not Practice Religion Cannot Implement Real Shariat; Need for Change in Political Structure To End Factional Strife"]

[Text] Lahore (Special Correspondent)—Ilama Sajid Naqvi, the central leader of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and the Tehrik-i Nifaz Fiqa Jafaria, asked what kind of a shari'a bill it would be like when U.S. Ambassador Robert Oakley congratulates us on it? He expressed this concern during his speech on the occasion of "Holy Day" celebrated under the auspices of the Tehrik-i Nifaz Jafaria. He said that he could not expect the people who did not follow any religious rule in order to attain power to bring about a real religious order in this country. He added that the present rulers were just talking sweetly to the people. He went on to say that rulers in the past had also used the word Islam to prolong their control and protect their dictatorships. He declared that the nation could not be betrayed any longer. He said that all laws that the government wants to implement should be realistic and all factions should be taken into confidence before the implementation. He accused the government of not consulting the shi'a leaders in the past. He suggested that the country needed a new political structure to end all factional conflicts.

Effects of Shari'a Bill Examined

91AS0890G Karachi JANG in Urdu 13 Apr 91 p 3

[Editorial: "Implementation of Islam—Solid Steps"]

[Text] The very next day after Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had addressed the joint meeting of the parliament in which he had expressed his desire to amend the Constitution and have the Koranic laws as supreme laws of our nation, the Shari'a bill was introduced in the National Assembly. The campaign for the Shari'a bill was started by the federal minister for law and justice and the House had given the bill to the 11-member select committee. This committee has representation of all political parties in the National Assembly and the minister for law and justice is also a member.

The prime minister, after announcing his decision to make the Koranic laws the supreme laws of our nation, took steps to make sure that the bill is introduced in the National Assembly and was entrusted to the select committee. He also made sure that this select committee was a representative group in a real sense and had asked the committee to submit its report within a month. This committee has full authority, including to amend the Shari'a bill. After amending this bill only one amendment to the Constitution is needed. This will enable molding all aspects of life in this nation according to Islamic teachings. It is evident that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is eager to make the Koranic laws our supreme laws by the fact that the Shari'a bill has been introduced in the National Assembly, has been given to a select committee, and this select committee has the authority to amend it. It is also possible that the bill to amend the Constitution will be introduced before the budget bill. The salient features of the Shari'a bill that have been made public indicate that these will not affect basic human rights of non-Muslims; the basic rights of all groups will be defined separately; an Islamic form of economic system will be implemented; the system of charging interest will be phased out within three years; a commission to transform the educational system according to Islamic laws will be established and asked to present its report within a month; another commission will be established to examine all property laws, banking, and insurance systems; steps will be taken to end obscenity and prostitution; and government will take action to protect life and liberty of the citizens.

A quick look at these proposed changes clearly indicates that our government is determined to establish a welfare state as envisioned by Quaid-i Azam. The IJI [Islami Jumhoori Ittehad] government has already started preliminary work in the area in which no other government had dared to do anything during the past 44 years. It has also decided to make necessary amendments to the present Constitution to facilitate passing of laws that help the Islamization of every sphere of our lives. It is evident from the way the people have welcomed these actions of our government that they trust the government in implementing Islamic laws. We can say it with

full confidence that the people of this country will fully cooperate with the government in making sure that the Koranic laws become the laws that govern this country. After all, the government's action reflect the people's desires and the main purpose for which Pakistan was established. The people are going to see their dreams come true after being kept in the dark for 44 years and listening to false promises and slogans by the rulers.

Federal Government-Balochistan Relations Analyzed

91AS0888D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
16 Apr 91 p 12

[Aziz Bhatti's Diary : "Search for Baluchistan's Governor"]

[Text] "The federal government is taking a special interest in solving Baluchistan's economic and social problems." Please God, make sure this is not a delusion, but a fact. The federal government remembered to express its interest in Baluchistan's problems because of the discussions in the state finance ministers conference for the topics to be followed up in the National Finance Commission meeting. The recommendations made in the conference asking the federal government to give special importance to Baluchistan's economic needs is getting special attention. Baluchistan's government and all its political parties want the federal government to return the money (about five and half billion rupees) the federal government collects as a developmental surcharge on Sui gas to Baluchistan. At present Baluchistan receives (about one and half billion rupees) in Sui gas royalties. Now it appears that the developmental surcharge will also be made available to Baluchistan. This would take care of the state's budget deficit and it will not need any grants from the federal government. Baluchistan has been depending on the federal government for its developmental and other expenses even before Pakistan was established. This "dependence" is not real; it is artificial. This false situation has been created and being maintained by some influential people for keeping their political positions. Baluchistan is not only the largest state (about 42 percent of Pakistan's total area) in the country, it is also rich in natural resources. In addition to having huge reserves of oil, marble, chromate, gypsum, gas, and copper, it has a long stretch of ocean on its border. This state is also important because of its geographical location. It shares borders with Iran and Afghanistan. It also has huge fruit gardens, abundant fish in the ocean, high quality dates, and agricultural production from about 650 thousand acres of fertile land. However, this rich state is forced to remain "poor" and special policies were implemented to make sure that the people of this state do not benefit from its resources and give the impression that this state cannot function without federal assistance. For the first time during the last three years, the Baluchistan political leadership decided to demand its "rights" rather than aid.

Baluchistan will be able to get rid of its feeling of deprivation if it gets the surcharge on Sui gas back. This would be a great achievement of the present government. The state government would be in a better position to work on its budget when it gets the Sui gas surcharge money. The next financial year would be of historical importance.

The freeze imposed on government hiring for the last four months would be removed during the next year. The new financial year will dawn with the good news of new employment opportunities for the young people in Baluchistan. The federal government had already decided to build a modern port at Gwadar just like the Karachi port. This would herald a new era of developments in Baluchistan.

Among the dozens of names being mentioned to fill the position of the governor of Baluchistan, Nawabzada Sheikh Umar, Brigadier (Retd.) Sayyed Akbar Shah (former vice chancellor of Baluchistan University and former ambassador), and Royadad Khan (federal minister) are prominent. We have learned from confidential sources that the plan to appoint governor to each state from another state has been shelved. All possible efforts will be made to appoint governors from the very state. Informed sources revealed that no decision has been made on the appointment of Baluchistan's governor. Some names are being considered now.

Mr. Nur Khan, leader of Baluchistan PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and Tehrik-i Istiqlal, said that the central leadership of the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has advised the PDA members of Baluchistan state assembly to resign from the assembly just like it had advised other states. This strategy will be used to have the party resign from state and federal assemblies as a group. Should it happen, Chief Minister Mir Taj Jamali still would have significant support in the assembly. There are only three PDA (People's Party) members in the state assembly.

Balochistan Becoming Major Heroin Producer

91AS1166A Lahore *THE NATION* in English
1, 2, 3 Jul 91

[Article by Amir Mateen: "Journey Through Balochistan"]

[1 Jul pp 1, 4]

[Text] Taftan—As Balochistan's reputation as a major area in global drug-trafficking builds up internationally, the Pakistan government faces a mounting international pressure, especially from the U.S., forcing it to plan a crackdown at the highest level on drug activities in the entire belt.

After the seizure of world's largest heroin consignment of 1747 kg in Balochistan's Chehlghazi area, the province has been marked 'red' by the Western drug agencies. The

heroin consignment that was seized recently in San Francisco, U.S., is also said to have originated from this part of the region.

Western estimates put the Baloch heroin production at over 1000 tons. The area is said to be responsible for the supply of more than 80 per cent of the drug reaching Europe every year. These figures make Balochistan the single largest supplier of heroin in the world, even surpassing Burma and Laos where poppy cultivation has lessened over the last few years. Sources say 95 percent of the heroin produced here is exported abroad while the remaining five percent is consumed locally.

What is commonly known as 'the Balkan heroin route' in global drug circles, originates from Afghanistan and reaches Europe through the Balkan states passing through Balochistan and Iran.

Apart from the judicial enquiry being conducted against two Balochistan MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] Asim Kurd alias Gailoo and Haji Ali Mohammad Notezai, and the cases against world renowned Sakhi Dost Jan, several government agencies are also organising round the clock surveillance of top provincial politicians, whom they hold as prime 'suspects.' The government agencies are busy collecting convincing evidence to launch an operation against them since these suspects are highly influential and capable of politicising their cases.

Though the KHALEEJ TIMES has recently reported three MPAs and an MNA [member of National Assembly] as primary suspects, the situation is much graver than what it seems on the ground.

Balochistan's rough terrain and territorial vastness with least administrative controls, its tribal setup and proximity to Iran and the Arabian Sea, not to mention the continuing Afghan war, makes it a haven for drug traffickers.

The Afghan refugee camps like Girdi Jungle, Poshlee, Ameri and Umer Shah in Chaghai, Pir Alizai, Saranan, Surkhab and Gulistan in Pishin and four Panjpai camps in Quetta district are the main dumping grounds. The Girdi Jungle camp has earned a special reputation in the recent years for it has become the centre of heroin supply to international routes. Thousands of kilograms of heroin can be recovered from this camp at any given time. Four years back one could see heroin openly displayed at the camp, but now the traffickers are careful enough to dump it at their homes.

The camp is now the centre for all drug deals. You place an order and get your stuff weighing in tons within no time. The deal is settled in the camp and the rates vary according to the place of delivery. "You can also get a home delivery service if you want," said an official who regularly monitors the camp.

International mafia with global connections operates in these camps. Formerly the drug traffickers in

Balochistan were couriers of barons operating in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] but now they have direct links in Afghanistan and Europe. The centre from the Frontier has now shifted to Balochistan where it is safer and easier for the traffickers to operate. Even according to Pakistan Narcotics Control Board [PNCB] sources, 95 percent of heroin dumped in Balochistan is exported and the local consumption is not more than five percent.

Balochistan hosts about 1,300,000 Afghan refugees and has a 510 mile border with Iran and 730 mile border with Afghanistan stretching from Gulkach to Rabat. The bulk of heroin that passes through Balochistan comes from Afghan areas of Yalmand, Shela, Maroja, Ameri, Raik, Lashkargah area and the tribal area on the border where it is cultivated under the supervision of Afghan Mujahideen commanders.

Pink and white flowers of opium poppies carpet the whole belt in spring. The fields are guarded by the Mujahideen. The crop is sown in December and harvested in April with traffickers paying in advance for the yield. "It is, perhaps, the only crop for which buyer comes at their doorstep," commented a Frontier Corps [FC] official in Taftan. The poppy cultivation suits Mujahideen as it can be grown at higher altitudes and is a ready cash crop with very high profits. There are certain Mujahideen commanders who oppose poppy cultivation but they are held in contempt by others who favour its cultivation on the pretext of supporting the 'holy war.' Commander Mulla Nasir Akhundzada, who was an open critic of poppy cultivation, was murdered last year in Peshawar allegedly by Afghan drug dealers.

The harvest is taken mostly on donkeys and camels to hundreds of laboratories, most of them mobile on Pak-Afghan border where it is processed. An average of 20 to 40 labourers work in these laboratories, many of them are Kabul regime prisoners, caught during the ambushes. After cutting the poppy bud, opium juice is derived which is processed by the crudest to more sophisticated ways in these laboratories to manufacture heroin. The heroin produced in these laboratories is mostly brown with purity varying from 30 to 50 percent. Heroin that comes from the NWFP is qualitatively better with 50 percent purity.

Rough estimates suggest 700 grams of brown heroin is derived from 10 kg opium. High quality white heroin is rare and the brown heroin is converted into white mostly in European Laboratories which make it injectable.

Over the last few years the traffickers have acquired sophisticated in heroin transportation. Caravans with no less than 20 to 30 vehicles take consignments through various routes. In most cases at least 20 vehicles armed to their teeth with sophisticated weaponry like rocket launchers, LMGs and mortars guard the drug consignments. These people are trained in fighting and are also capable of combating Frontier Corps contingents

deployed at the border. Modern electronic devices are used for passing on the signals for the safe passage of the consignments.

The traffickers keep on changing their tracks but there are certain routes which they frequently use and which have been identified by narcotic control agencies. The drugs are brought from the border to refugees camps from where a portion is shifted to Makran division. It is smuggled out of the country through launches from the Balochistan ports of Jiwani, Gwadar, Pasni and Ormara. The frequently used sea route is from Girdi Jungle, to Panjgur, Turbat, Jiwni, Pasni and then abroad.

The local supply is mostly made from Ghazaband via Kuchlak Road to Quetta and then to Karachi and Interior Sindh via Khuzdar and Sibi. The traffickers often use Khanozai and Rakhani Road when they smuggle to Punjab. The supply to Sindh and the Punjab is mostly made through trucks which are dominated by refugees. There is a complete network of transporters, drug pushers and pedlars who with the connivance of law enforcing agencies in most of the cases operate in an organised manner.

However, the PNCB sources believe that the bulk of heroin is smuggled out via Iran to Turkey and then to Europe. Though there are hundreds of rough unmetalled tracks used for the trafficking, the identified routes are from Girdi Jungle to Kirtaka, Shela, Jali Rabat and to Zahidan in Iran. The traffickers prefer to move along the Pak-Afghan border, often crisscrossing the two countries. Another route is from Qandhar to Rodhistan, Shela, Zabul and then to Iran. There is also a route which starts from Afghan Post 1(A) to Killa Kurd, Girdi Jungle to Kachoa via Nokhundi, Chaghai Hills to Iran. There is a shorter track which begins from Girdi jungle to Posti via Koh-i-Sultan. Then there is also a route which starts from Afghanistan to Chamman, to the strife-torn Gulistan, to Girdi Jungle and then to Iran through hills and the border belt.

In Girdi Jungle brown heroin is available for Rs[rupees]10,000 per kg, in Quetta the price increases to approximately Rs 16,000 per kg. Whereas in the Punjab it is sold from Rs 20,000 to Rs 22,000. In the Iranian city of Zahidan, the price of the same product increases to Rs 40,000. In Pakistan white heroin is sold for Rs 80,000 per kg whereas the same heroin fetches a price of about Rs 4.5 million per kg in London and Rs 4 million in New York. In Quetta a third rated heroin is sold at Rs 7000 per kg which is almost the residue of the actual product. The pedlars also mix hair removing powder and clay to enhance their profits, increasing the poisonous effect of the drug.

[2 Jul pp 1, 4]

[Text] Gulistan—The tribal feud between two Pashtun Achakzai sub-tribes of Hamidzais and Ghabizais in which more than 10 people have reportedly died and hundreds injured still continues with the traffic on the RCD Highway completely suspended from Gulistan to

Chamman, threatening the security of the whole belt close to the already tense Pak-Afghan border.

There is a curfew-like situation in about 50 sq km area inhabited by more than 500,000 people. The Frontier Corps has been called in as the situation at one stage was uncontrollable. The army continues to picket the whole area, not letting anybody, least of all journalists, visit the area and in the words of local PNP [Pakistan National Party] leader, Bismillah Kakar, "even the locals have to take 'visas' from the local administration if they want to visit their place."

The fact that drug-traffickers have high stakes in the region and arms ranging from laser, mortar and anti-aircraft guns to rocket-launchers abound in the vicinity has further complicated the issue. Since 31 May, when the two warring tribes bombarded each other from the bunkers, especially raised for the fighting, the life in Gulistan has been paralysed. Though the local administration is said to be doing everything it can, the residents are braving the hot summer without regular electricity supply and continue to face food shortages. "Our fruit crops are rotting because of the bloody feud," said a local.

The Jirga comprising tribal elders has failed to maintain peace as the Ghabizais, whose chieftain, commonly known as Khan in the area, Mohammad Khan Ghabizai was killed before the October elections along with his two sons, are not willing to settle for anything short of Mahmood Khan Achakzai, MNA's head. Mahmood Achakzai is now a Khan of Jaloza, a further sub-tribe of Hamidzais and a prominent local Pashtun nationalist leader, apart from being the president of the Pash-tunkhwa Milli Awami Party.

Ghabizais believe that Mahmood Khan Achakzai was behind Mohammad Khan's murder. His 19 sons are bent upon avenging the killing of their father and two brothers. Now the eldest brother Ahmad Khan Ghabizai, a former Customs official who was involved in the Airbus hijacking case, is their new Khan. They allegedly killed Mahmood's cousin and Hamid Achakzai, MPA's brother Saeed Khan on the election day in October.

The repercussions of this bloody rivalry are now being felt in Quetta where armed scuffles between the two rival camps take place off and on. Ghabizais maintain that it is a tribal feud so they will sort it out in keeping with the tribal laws which justify 'life for life.'

The theories circulating in the province about the cause of this sanguinary feud range from local politics to tribal and there are also some intellectuals who regard it as a part of the new world order relating it to the Afghan issue. Since Mahmood Khan and his Pashtunkhwa are the proponents of the Kabul regime and Ghabizais are known supporters of Mujahideen, both belonging to the rival camps in Afghanistan, the issue has become further more complex.

Mahmood Achakzai maintains that he has nothing to do with Mohammad Khan Ghabizai's murder and accuses the ISI [Inter-Services Intelligence] of hatching a conspiracy against him. He believes that since he has been an open critic of Pakistan's adventures in Afghanistan, the ISI wants to eliminate him before launching its offensive on Qandhar.

According to the investigations conducted by THE NATION Hamidzais are from the Gujanzai branch of Hamidzais whereas Ghabizais are from the Badinzai branch of Achakzais. The late Khan of Ghabizais Mohammad Khan was an Afghan national and was also a member of Afghan Parliament from Spin Baldic border area of Afghanistan. After a dispute with his family in Afghanistan, he migrated to Chamman and then to Gulistan adjacent to Gulistan Karez. Ghabizais mostly survive and thrive on smuggling and have strong contacts with the Afghan Mujahideen. Mohammad Khan Ghabizai's cousin Karim is still the commander of his Mujahideen camp in northern Afghanistan. Since the locals of Gulistan Karez, Shamsozais also happened to be in the same trade, a rivalry between the two tribes developed. About four years back, a clash between the two occurred in Gulistan Bazar in which Mohammad Khan's brother Daulat Khan was killed. After heavy fighting between the two tribes, Shamsozais gave in and left their homes to settle in an area outside Gulistan. However, the hostility between the two tribes continued, claiming the lives of 10 people from both the camps so far.

Mahmood Khan Achakzai belongs to the Jallozai branch of Hamidzais, settled in the vicinity. Another branch of Hamidzais is Ibrahimzais, whose Khan or Malik Shaista Khan's brother Askam Khan Ibrahimzai was allegedly killed by Ghabizais a few years back.

During the October elections campaign when Mohammad Khan Ghabizai was coming to Gulistan from Quetta along with his two sons, he was fired upon from a Suzuki pick-up passing by him near Saranan, leaving three of them dead. The pick-up, however, toppled about a furlong away from the spot, but, the murderers managed to escape. When the Ghabizais reached the spot they took the vehicle in their custody and are said to have found from it the identity papers of Askam Khan Ibrahimzai's family member. They also maintain that they have found the evidence, suggesting that Mahmood Achakzai also had a hand in the murder, but they are not coming out with their evidence in the open.

Now the Ghabizais are not letting the other local tribes and the Jirga interfere in the matter on the plea that it is a tribal issue and they have the right to avenge the murder of their father according to the tribal laws.

Mahmood Khan is trying to politicise the issue by raising this question in the National Assembly. His contention is that the persons who killed Mohammad Khan Ghabizai are his distant cousins. So being the Khan of Hamidzais,

he could not be held responsible for the murders. He sincerely believes that the anti-Kabul forces are conspiring against him.

The two tribes have also a rivalry in the local politics as the local MNA and MPS are both Pashtunkhwa members, but the Union Council chairmanship of Gulistan is with the Ghabizais who opposed Mahmood Khan in the last general elections also. There are also reports of JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan], indirectly supporting Ghabizais as they, being the former winners in the Pishin national constituency, also have a stake in this area and are politically opposed to Pashtunkhwa and its politics.

Whatever the true cause of this issue, the whole region is tense due to this rivalry. The feud which has already cost more than ten lives continues with both the rival camps poised to take on each other as soon as the life comes to normal. The administration is primarily interested in maintaining law and order in the area and are not venturing to clear the area of arms. "It is simply impossible for us, our primary concern is to restore order," said Quetta Commissioner Ghiasuddin while talking to THE NATION.

The investigations revealed that both the groups have piled up arms. Unconfirmed reports also indicated that armed Mujahideen contingents, coming from Spin Baldic to support Ghabizais, have left the area. The situation is still explosive and has the potential of rendering the whole region into strife torn if a truce between the two warring tribes is not arranged. The tussle has also gripped Quetta where supporters of both the groups indulge in frequent exchange of firepower, using most sophisticated arsenal. Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is said to have formed a committee to view the matter, but much more is needed to avert a potential crisis in the area.

[3 Jul pp 1, 4]

[Text] Dalbandin—The flourishing drug mafia in Balochistan has its tentacles spread across the highest echelons of power to the lowest strata, and, with loads of money at its disposal, is capable of influencing the top politicians; bureaucracy and even, some allege, judiciary. Armed with heavy arsenals of sophisticated weaponry, it even has the awesome potential to confront and browbeat the mighty Frontier Corps anywhere, anytime.

The mafia confronted a Frontier Corps contingent in Kartaka in the last of the big fights in a manner which was grand displaying the kind of confidence they have in their ability to take on the might of a regular force. Shooting dead five militiamen, with another eight abducted, it was a daring attempt.

While tracking down these drug traffickers, the PNCB staff was about to apprehend Asim Kurd, MPA, whose arms licence was found during the Kartaka incident. He took refuge in Provincial Minister Israrullah Zehri's house with the drug consignment, the PNCB sources swore he had. The entire provincial government was

shaken by the incident with the Home Secretary coming to Kurd's rescue on the orders of the Chief Minister and the forces were called back. A judicial enquiry against him is currently going on.

With drug money worth millions of dollars at their disposal and high connections in and outside the country, the mafia has entered politics and is now proficient at politicising every drug case. Some well informed people in Balochistan even go to the extent of saying that the entire province is being run by the drug traffickers.

Drug trafficking in the Chaghai belt, which has been globally renowned after the seizure of world's largest consignment of 1743 kg heroin in Chehlghazi, cannot be carried out without the support of local influentials who take their share of the booty for the safe passage of consignments from their area. Even a child in the area can tell several stories about the active involvement of the Notezais, Bareech and many other local tribes.

"You cannot stop the drug trade even if you deploy the entire Pakistan army on Balochistan's border with Afghanistan," said a Frontier Corps spokesman helplessly. "There are thousand of nullahs along the border and each of them is a drug route."

The sensitivity of the area which has been prone to insurgencies and nationalist movements and the continuing Afghan war further complicates the situation. There is a great risk involved in launching a full scale operation against the traffickers as they, realising the strategic importance of the belt, are capable of exploiting the situation by triggering anarchy. With the sort of external connections they have, they are a potential threat to the security of the entire belt.

Local intellectuals, with a reason good enough, hold the Pakistan government's Afghan policy responsible for the spread of this menace. The PNCB and the Customs Department sources quote an incident where their staff hauled up a Mujahideen convoy after a long chase in Chaghai. When about to check their vehicles, the PNCB staff was shown a document issued by the ISI. They were allowed to go without any interrogation after that. "We knew they had drugs in them, but we were helpless," said a source in the Department with visible anger in his tone.

The Customs officials in Quetta confirmed in private that about four years back, the ISI had issued a document in the name of "Afghan sympathisers" allowing them unrestricted mobility in the border belt from one war front to another. This document, as vehemently alleged, was misused in drug smuggling. Whether this arrangement exists now could not be confirmed. However, since the Pakistan government was a supporter of the Mujahideen, whose involvement in drug trafficking can be confirmed from any narcotics agency in the country, it turned a blind eye to their activities, in a way contributing to the flourishing of this trade.

As these traffickers operate through organised syndicates, and are aware of the need to increase their political clout for the smooth running of their business. "There is no limit to their power and they can buy anybody in the province," said a PNCB official who is investigating the Chehlghazi case. The U.S. authorities monitoring this case are dissatisfied with the way it is being pursued.

A pointer to the power they yield: all the main accused in the world's largest seizure of heroin case in October last are out on bail. Sakhi Dost Jan Notezai, popularly known as the king of Chaghai, has been granted interim bail by the High Court on medical grounds. He was seeking permission for going abroad for treatment, but the Court refused to allow him. He is said to be one of the most influential people in the province and is the cousin of the late Balochistan Minister Eid Mohammad Notezai. Eid Mohammad's brother Ali Mohammad Notezai, MPA is also an accused in this case and had obtained bail before arrest from the Supreme Court. Sakhi Dost Jan's nephew, Chaghai District Council Chairman Ali Jan Notezai, has also been bailed out. The late Eid Mohammad's son is presently serving sentence in a London jail for his involvement in a drug case.

In the Chehlghazi case, an army NCO [non-commissioned officer] died and Captain Samad of an FC Battalion was injured when they seized about 1743 kg of heroin, apart from eight metric tons of cannabis, 500 kg opium and an unspecified cache of arms after several hours battle at Nala Chehlghazi, 22 miles from Dalbandin. The case took a mysterious turn when, according to a report, the case was not registered before 22 October and the entire PNCB staff refused to investigate the case. They sent their joint leave application to the Board Chairman. In December last, PNCB sleuths raided Sakhi Dost Jan's village, killing Dost Jan and detected a heroin factory with hundreds of kilogram of opium, hash and other chemicals.

The traffickers are equipped with heavy arsenals, enough to combat regular army forces. Even the FC militiamen are scared of their sophisticated weaponry. "Whenever there is an encounter with drug traffickers, casualties take place," said a Kharan Rifle jawan. "You see, it's a tribal set-up in which you are expected to avenge for your honour and these smugglers don't realise that it is our duty to fight them. They take it personally. And after all we have to live here."

With only a staff of 22 constables, eight head constables, eight inspectors and three DSPs [Deputy Superintendents of Police], the PNCB is expected to combat international drug dealers with the most sophisticated equipment in the country's territorially largest province. The government has been gracious enough to add recently five Chinese rifles to their previous arsenal of five rusty 303 rifles.

It is the politics that govern everything in Balochistan. The recent reaction over the arrest of Provincial Minister Sanaullah Zehri in Sindh is a typical example in

which the intervention of the president and the prime minister is being sought and the two provinces are at loggerheads over this. "Why don't they investigate the case and take action on merit," said an irritated intelligence official who also pointed out that Sanaullah is brother of Balochistan Minister Israrullah Zehri who gave refuge to Asim Kurd when he was being followed by the PNCB staff. The JWP [Jamhoori Watan Party] is also crying hoarse, asserting that the cases against its two MPAs are a conspiracy.

There are numerous reports of smugglers operating in connivance with the FC, Customs, Levys and the PNCB. But it is something very natural in an area where drug money worth millions of rupees is in circulation and the government officials working in these departments receive salaries averaging between Rs 1500 and 3000.

Smuggling has become a part of culture in this upper part of Balochistan. Smuggling of goods has always persisted. It is interesting how normal smuggling of every sort is taken and received as an accepted way of life. Being a drug smuggler, one is no more a social disgrace. Interestingly, in many cases smuggling symbolises power and gallantry, the two things most sacred in the eyes of the local tribes. That is why known smugglers are voted to power. "The area is dominated by smugglers of goods, arms and drugs, so who else can we vote for," said a resident in the shanty desert town of Dalbandin. Since most of the Chaghai district is desert, there are a few other options for surviving. Moreover, there is no other business as lucrative as this one.

The mafia also has high connections in Iran, but when the Iranian government took up cudgels against them many of them shifted to this part of the region. The sources confided that the most sought after Yar Mohammad Farrari is also being traced for the investigations of the Chehlghazi case.

Effort To Improve Human Rights Viewed

91AS1073C Karachi DAWN in English 6 Jun 91 p 9

[Article by Ahmad Hasan Alvi: "Protecting Human Rights: Chief Justice Takes Initiative"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Chief Justice of Pakistan, Mr Justice Mohammad Afzal Zullah, has taken an unprecedented initiative to ensure protection of human rights in a country where mass illiteracy and poverty tend to create ideal conditions for their naked violations and help the perpetrators. A three-tier scheme, conceived by the Chief Justice, envisages watchdog bodies at national, district and union council level to start functioning within two months throughout the country.

The watchdog bodies will receive complaints from people who had suffered at the hands of the police and or any other organ of the State machinery in cities, towns and villages. The bodies will also take suo moto cognisance of violation of human rights. Although legal aid is

one of the planned remedial measures, their main task will be to create an atmosphere, through education and publicity, making encroachment on human rights a "risky undertaking." The system is intended to generate a strong moral deterrent to those who trample upon rights of the poor and the destitute, with impunity.

"The deprived section of the community have to be made conscious and assertive of the rights guaranteed to them by Islam, the Constitution and the law of the land," says Mr. Zakaullah, Secretary, Pakistan Law Commission.

Explaining the salient features of the scheme, Mr. Zakaullah said that a full-fledged machinery is needed to make the whole exercise of protecting human rights meaningful.

The body to be set up at national level will be named "Council for Awareness and Enforcement of Human Rights." The Chief Justice will be its chairman and the members include Attorney-General of Pakistan, Chief Justices of Federal Shariat Court, Federal Ombudsman, Chief Justice of the four provincial High Courts and Additional Chief Secretaries of all the provinces, Federal Secretaries to the Ministries of Communications, Social Welfare, Education, Women's Development and Vice-Chairman, Pakistan Bar Council, and one senior journalist.

The Council will lay down guidelines for the awareness and protection of human rights in the country and also supervise the implementation of various programmes and schemes.

The district-level watchdog body will be called "Board for Awareness and Enforcement of Human Rights." The District and Sessions Judge will be its director and Deputy Commissioner, Mayor, Chairman of the District Council and heads of various departments in the district will be the members.

The next tier will be at the electoral units level in urban areas and union councils in the rural areas and shall be called Citizen's Committees for Protection and Promotion of Human Rights. These shall be constituted from amongst the assigned persons, between 20 and 30, of any respective area in all districts by the boards concerned and shall include headmasters, mosque 'imams,' chairman of local council and Zakat and Salat Committees.

All professionals and civil servants shall be duty-bound to report violations of human rights to the committees and their failure to do so shall entail "punishments and penalties."

Though there could be no two opinions about the high merit of this novel scheme, its success in a society mired in political, economic, social and administrative injustices, remains doubtful.

Already the laws do exist according equal respect to the basic rights of the citizens, but it is the lack of implementation which is the crux of the whole problem.

Then, one wonders if the Chief Justice as well as district and sessions judges could really spare time, keeping in view their present workload, to take upon themselves the heavy responsibilities of human rights protection.

In India, a similar experiment was undertaken in the form of Lok Adalats [People's Courts]. In 1987, these started functioning under the Legal Services Authorities Act. Before the statutory protection, these 'adalats' were functioning under the legal aid and advice boards at the district level. The main emphasis, in India's case, is on providing legal service to the poor and weaker sections of society.

The Pakistani experiment has entire stress on the protection, recognition and education of human rights. In India, 'Lok Adalats' are dependent on the conferment of jurisdiction by the parties concerned. "In our case it is automatic because of the constitutional mandates, particularly those enjoined by Islam on the State," Mr. Zakaullah said.

The financial aspect has yet to be taken up. No assessment of how much money will be required and how this will be raised has been prepared. Perhaps, a human rights trust may have to be created for the purpose. Another noticeable aspect of the scheme is that it excludes the involvement of elected representatives at all levels.

Editorial Urges Muslim Unity

BK2307072191 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
23 Jul p 6

[Editorial: "What Is Jeddah Up To?"]

[Text] Israeli officials rejected on Saturday a Saudi offer to suspend its economic boycott if Israel agreed to freeze the process of settlement of Jews in the occupied territories, according to a news item. An Israeli spokesman, seeking anonymity, said, "just as we didn't like the linkage established between the two issues by the G-7 in London, we don't like the linkage from Jeddah." The Saudi proposal is bound to be looked on most disfavorably by all Muslim countries which have definite views about the Zionist entity. It is no secret that the economic boycott by the Arab States was imposed as a mark of resentment by them against the establishment of Israel and an emphatic symbol of their refusal to recognise the illegal entity. The fact that the Saudi offer is tantamount to recognition of the Zionist entity, does not need elaboration. For all we know, recognition of Israel could have been one of the conditions which were agreed upon before the US-led allies landed on Saudi soil. The Saudis may feel indebted to the US, but this does not mean that they should abandon all principles at the latter's behest.

For quite some time now, American intentions about the Middle East and Kashmir have been thinly veiled. Nothing is closer to the hearts of the US administration than recognition by the Arab States of the Zionist entity and they are on record that Kashmir should be an independent State! It thus becomes obvious that the latest proposal emanating from Jeddah has been made under persuasion from the US. However, whatever is being done by the Saudi monarchy could hardly be a reflection of the wishes of the Saudi people. The US, as the next step in its global designs, could well instigate India to aggress against Pakistan, Gen Mirza Aslam Beg has, in fact, strongly hinted at this possibility in his most recent statement while addressing troops in various cantonments.

To support them in their latest ill-advised move, the Saudis have Cairo and Jordan. It is the need of the hour that the heads of other Muslim States dissuade these three countries from going ahead with plans which could result in the recognition of the Zionist entity by them which will most certainly have disastrous consequences for the entire Muslim Ummah. During his recent visit to the country, Gen Mohsen Razai, Commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard, stressed the need for Pakistan-Iran joint support to the freedom fighters in Indian-held Kashmir. It appears that now the Muslim Ummah will just have to unite to thwart American designs in the Middle East, Kashmir and Afghanistan. As it is, Jeddah, Cairo and Jordan seem bent on abandoning the Palestinians to their fate. It should be the endeavour of the Muslim Ummah to see to it that the Palestinians, the Kashmiris and the Afghans get the support they deserve.

Kidnapping of Japanese Tourists Condemned

91AS0888C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
8 Apr 91 p 10

[Editorial: "Stop This Cancer of Kidnapping for Ransom"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif has ordered the return of the kidnapped Japanese tourists immediately. The I.G. of Sindh is leading an operation to find the kidnapped tourists in the Kashmir jungles himself. The problem of kidnapping and keeping hostages has reached cancerous proportions in the country. It has become so bad that even foreign tourists are not safe here. This unfortunate incident has caused embarrassment for Pakistan all over the world. According to our information this case is being given too much attention in the Japanese news media, especially the television. The notoriety Pakistan is gaining is beyond description. The peace situation in Karachi and Sindh's interior areas has been historically very bad and there is a separate history of abductions in this region. It is unfortunate that even a peaceful region like Punjab is not safe from this curse. A new and dangerous era began in Punjab when the famous industrialist Aaftab Sheikh was kidnapped. Later, the students became the target of the kidnappings. A student

was recently released, but they had to pay a ransom worth hundreds of thousands of rupees for his release. There has been another student kidnapped. Lahore is the capital of Punjab and a case of kidnapping for ransom from here where the chief minister, chief secretary, inspector general of police, and dozens of intelligence agencies are present should be humiliating experience for the government. The Punjab police is known to be able to "count the feathers on a flying sparrow." The fact is that the Punjab police had been very active in suppressing all kind of political uprisings during the colonial era. The police beat up the opponents of the government after Pakistan was established. All police specialties become ineffective once the issue of the peace and safety of the society is raised. Those who use the police for political purposes are equally to blame for this situation. The police contends that the legal system, because of the inherent problems within its ranks, is not even afraid of God much less an audit. The police is accused of handling cases in such a way that they drag on for years and no decisions can be made. Anyhow, it is important to remove the flaws in the police and justice systems. There are no major political or government problems at national level at present, therefore, the miscreants cannot take advantage of those. We have a democratic government and the federal government has good relations with the states. The government should not have any problem in taking care of this situation. The main goal of any democratic and religious government is to establish peace. This is, however, has been neglected by our country and we are now seeing the results of this neglect. According to a news item published today, Pakistan suffered a trade deficit of 22.34 billion rupees last year. There might be other reasons for this deficit, however, the lack of law and order and all these incidents of kidnapping and hostages should be enough to aggravate the people. The government has made some commendable announcements to improve the economy. The practice of privatization continues. Revolutionary changes have been made in the foreign exchange area. However, the situation will remain bad until steps are taken to improve the industrial production or cause economic progress. The government must take measures to ensure that the people can live peacefully from Karachi to Peshawar. At the same time, it should curb the elements responsible for abductions to help accelerate industrial progress. This will help us to move toward a brighter future at [reasonable] economic and social levels. How long will this law of "kidnapping for ransom" last? The whole country has become hostage of the criminal elements.

Crime in Punjab said 'Growing Rapidly'

91AS1169C Lahore THE NATION in English
28 Jun 91 p 6

[Text] The merciless killing of sixteen members of the same family, including women and small children, in a densely populated locality of Lahore, has sent shock waves, that are likely to last for a long time. Whether it was just a crime meant to spread terror, or an act of

revenge, is not yet clear. The family was reported to have no enemies. It was known for its piety and respectability. And yet some one held enough venom against it to finish the entire lot in one long act of utter barbarity. The enormity of the crime is mind-boggling. One cannot recall having heard of such brutality in a long time. It was perpetrated during day time, when the hustle and bustle of life in the area would ordinarily render its execution all but impossible. That the coming into the area of a group of murderers, unless they were people who had already been seen before, attracted little attention, is mystifying. Even harder to explain is the fact that no neighbour or passer-by heard a noise, a cry for help, even a shriek. And the killers remained in the house for hours—long enough to kill even those who came to find out the reason for a disconnected telephone. The report so far is that robbery was not the motive. Probably that was so. Had that been the motive, small children would not have been slaughtered. Whatever it was, it has totally shaken the confidence of the people of Lahore in the ability of the administration to provide security of life to peaceful citizens. Yet prudence dictates that the temptation to draw hasty conclusions be resisted. The results of the investigation that has been ordered, should be awaited. And what is even more important, the perpetrators of this heinous crime should be brought to book as expeditiously as possible and be shown as little mercy, as they did to their innocent victims on that fateful afternoon.

This crime also calls attention to the general climate of law and order in Punjab. For too long has the attention of the people been diverted to Sindh. Punjab has deceptively been painted as a haven of peace. Actually the criminals in Punjab have been growing as rapidly in number, as the dacoits of Sindh. They have become as daring in looting of banks, raiding of passenger buses, kidnapping of businessmen and other acts of lawlessness as the outlaws of Sindh. Political murders are as frequent. About the time that sixteen members of that unfortunate family were being killed in their home, an equally callous group roamed the streets of Lahore to gun down a young political worker on a busy highway. Was this murder prompted by a hope for reprieve from a biased administration? One hopes not. Justice should not only be done, but it should be seen to be done. In such a climate of fear it would be difficult to blame those, who have started asking that if life was so unsafe in the prime minister's own city, then where was one safe in Pakistan?

Illegal Immigrants Said Involved in Spying

91AS0887C Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Apr 91 p 3

[Editorial: "A Question for the Internal Affairs Ministry"]

[Text] According to reliable sources, the secretary of federal internal affairs has informed Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and the federal cabinet that 300,000 Indian and 500,000 Bangladeshi nationals were illegally living in Karachi. The total number of illegal aliens is

estimated to be over 800,000. According to information received from Lahore, a gang at the Itari railway station in India sells signed notes to persons wishing to emigrate to Pakistan for 5,000 rupees a piece. These travelers go to another gang on reaching Lahore and get Pakistani passports and identity cards in exchange for the notes they bring. It was also learned that the employees of the registration and records division are actively involved in this forgery operation. The number of illegal aliens in Pakistan is increasing daily and the main reason for this is the ineffectiveness and bribery practice in the related departments. The whole operation is so vividly described in this report that we do not have to explain anything more. The government knows that these illegal immigrants are involved in spying, terrorism, instigation, rioting, smuggling drugs and weapons, and all kinds of crimes. The arrival of these foreigners is especially dangerous in Sindh. The intelligence sources have often admitted that foreigners have played an important role in illegal activities in Sindh. Hundreds of thousands of our young men are looking for employment unsuccessfully as these foreigners are willing to work at lower wages. This reduces our employment opportunities. We would like to ask the ministry of internal affairs, why no action is taken against these foreigners? How are identification cards and passports issued to these foreigners by the departments in the ministry of internal affairs? What stops this ministry from taking action against these foreigners? The nation must know.

Thirty Thousand Said Seeking Asylum in UK

91AS0887F Karachi JANG in Urdu 9 Apr 91 p 8

[Article: "30,000 Applications for Political Asylum in UK Submitted"]

[Text] London (JANG Correspondent)—The United Kingdom minister of internal affairs has received 30,000 applications for political asylum from Pakistanis in 1990. According to the Home Office statistics, this number is significantly greater than in the past. There seems to be no obvious reason for more Pakistanis to request asylum in 1990 than in 1989 and 1988. Pakistan had democracy during this past year and there were no incidents of political persecution that may have forced these people to seek political asylum. The British Government sources revealed that most of the applications made in 1990 were for economic rather than political reasons. The number of Pakistanis requesting asylum for political reasons in 1988 was 350 and this number had gone down to 295 in 1989. According to the Home Office, decision were made on 5,950 applications out of the total of 30,000 received in 1990. A total of 1,600 persons were given political asylum in 1990 and other 3,700 were given special permission to reside in the United Kingdom. Requests of 650 persons for political asylum was denied. The number of requests for political asylum from India had also increased greatly in 1990. There were 340 applications from India during the first quarter of 1990, followed by 310 during the second

quarter and 390 during the third quarter. The number of Pakistani applicants was greater than those from India in 1990.

Increase in Illegal Aliens Reported

91AS0890E Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Apr 91 p 2

[Article: "800,000 Aliens Reportedly Living in Karachi"]

[Text] Karachi (PPA)—Every year 13,500 Indian nationals enter and illegally establish residence in Pakistan. According to a report published by our immigration department, 1,768,635 Indian nationals visited Pakistan between January 1980 and December 1990. Of these, 148,011 persons did not return to India.

According to this report, these figures do not include the Indians who have entered Pakistan illegally. The FIA [Federal Investigation Agency] has proposed some important measures, including not issuing transit visas, to stop this illegal residency. Those who request visa for a second time will be required to directly approach the Pakistani high commissioner in New Delhi. According to this report, hundreds of thousands of immigrants are entering Pakistan and over 800,000 of these are living in Karachi alone. These immigrants come from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Iraq, Iran, Kurdistan, Thailand, Sri Lanka, and Burma. Uganda and Nigeria need also be mentioned. The report revealed that the FIA was considering new system for issuing identification cards.

Economic Ties to 'Muslim Republics' Foreseen

91AS1169E Lahore THE NATION in English
(Supplement) 23 Jun 91 p II

[Article by Mushahid Hussain: "Important Opening Into the Soviet "Islamic South""]

[Text] Recently, an important development, which potentially has far-reaching political and economic significance, went virtually unnoticed. During his 12 June visit to Iran, the prime minister of Azerbaijan, one of six affiliated Muslim Republics of the Soviet Union, expressed his Union republic's desire to join the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), which groups together Pakistan, Iran and Turkey. Azerbaijan Prime Minister Hassan Hassanov also met ECO Secretary-General, Ali Raza Salari and invited him to visit Baku, Azerbaijan's capital, for further talks. In the meantime, Iran's Foreign Minister Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati promised Prime Minister Hassan that Iran would take up the question of Azerbaijan's membership of ECO with the other two members, namely, Pakistan and Turkey.

This is the first such initiative from one of the Muslim Republics in the Soviet Union for institutionalised cooperation with neighbouring countries and it signals an opening, both for these Republics and their Muslim neighbours like Pakistan, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan. Apart from Azerbaijan, other Muslim-majority Republics are Uzbekistan (the largest with a 16 million population), Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizia and Kazakhstan (although, its Russian population is approximately one-third of the total). During his Iran visit, the Azerbaijan leader also signed agreements with the Iranians on construction of dams over bordering rivers, transportation and shipping, tourism and laying a pipeline for supply of Iranian gas into Azerbaijan. An Iranian news agency bureau will open in Baku, which will also be linked by train and air with Tabriz, capital of Iranian Azerbaijan.

The Azerbaijani initiative to join ECO is no isolated move on the part of a republic which is also a major oil producer and which has recently been rediscovering its Islamic roots. Other Muslim Republics, notably Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, have expressed their desire for closer ties with Pakistan and Turkey respectively. Only last month, in the middle of May, a delegation from Uzbekistan visited Pakistan, seeking similar collaboration as that sought by Azerbaijan with Iran. The five-member delegation was led by the chairman of Uzbekistan Parliament's Foreign Relations Committee, Dr. Habibullahev Poulat. Uzbekistan, for instance, with its annual output of 5 million tons of cotton produces 75 percent of the Soviet Union's cotton. The Uzbeks expressed an interest in establishing an air service between Karachi and Tashkent, Uzbekistan's capital, and in seeking Pakistani assistance in developing their textile industry only 10 percent of their total cotton production can be processed in their Republic, thereby confining Uzbekistan to producing raw materials only.

Around the same time that the Azerbaijan Prime Minister was visiting Iran and a fortnight after the visit of the Uzbekistan mission to Pakistan the President of Tajikistan, Kahor Mahkamov, visited Turkey to attend an international economic conference in Istanbul. During his meeting with President Turgut Ozal, the Tajikistan leader underlined the need for closer cooperation with Turkey, in a pattern remarkably similar to what the Azeris are seeking with Iran and the Uzbeks with Pakistan.

These moves are not unrelated, in fact they represent two emerging realities, which are extremely important for the Muslim World to take note of. First, there has been a radical transformation in the nature of the Soviet state, not simply the collapse of Marxism-Leninism as state ideology, but also in the nature of relations between Moscow and the constituent republics. The once-centralised Soviet state has virtually been converted into a confederation with a new "Treaty of the Union of Sovereign States," which guarantees each Republic the right to build direct diplomatic, consular and trade relations with other countries. This Treaty was ratified by the 17 March referendum, which received overwhelming endorsement from a large turnout of voters in all the 6 Muslim Republics, none of whom was among the 6 other predominantly Christian republics boycotting the referendum among the 15 republics who now constitute the "Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics." This change of name of the USSR was announced on 25 May. Interestingly, the kind of vast autonomy granted to these "sovereign" republics is even more than what was being sought by the Awami League under Sheikh Mujib in his famous 6 points and failure to agree on this quantum of autonomy plus unbridled ambition of West Pakistani generals and politicians led to the 1971 disaster. The preservation of the USSR, in howsoever tenuous a form, is a tribute to the sagacity and statesmanship of Mikhail Gorbachev, since he has managed, at least for the time being, to retain the USSR by reversing past policies and through a voluntary exercise of these Republics will.

Second, each of these (Sovereign Republics), is now seeking outlets in accordance with their natural religious and cultural centers of gravity. For instance, the Baltic Republics have been seeking aid in the United States and Europe, and even the newly-elected President of Russia, the largest constituent republic of the USSR, Boris Yeltsin, is currently visiting Washington where he has, for instance, endorsed the American line on cessation of Soviet support for Cuba. Similarly, the Muslim Republics are naturally interested in seeking closer ties with fellow Muslim countries, particularly those in their vicinity with whom they share ties of kinship, culture, geography and religion.

These developments present three kinds of openings and opportunities for the Muslim World, particularly countries like Pakistan whose geographical proximity to Central Asia and Trans-Caucasus was out-matched by a self-imposed "ideological" distance, although it was

never quite explained how the Chinese or the Americans were "better Muslims" than the Russians! First, Azerbaijan's application is timely since it comes at a time when ECO is being rejuvenated courtesy all three members, although Turkey still has its sights set for Europe come 1992. At the ECO Ministerial meeting in Tehran on 2-23 May, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed, seeking establishment of an Investment Bank and reduction of customs tariffs for goods exchanged between the three countries. And the first ECO Summit will meet in Tehran in November 1991, a good occasion to accept Azerbaijan's application for membership.

Second, after lying politically dormant for a long time, the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) needs to wake up from its slumber and respond to these emerging overtures from Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. During the 8-14 June meeting of the OIC Economic and Cultural Committee in Tehran, the Iranians also floated the idea of an "Islamic Common Market." But the key to OIC effectiveness lies in the candid advice that President Rafsanjani gave to the OIC Secretary-General, Hamid al-Gabid, during their 9 June meeting: "We believe OIC will be successful once it sheds its indifference towards the daily issues of the Muslim World, and when world Muslims feel they have an active and alert source to refer to."

Third, Pakistan needs to build a better relationship with the Soviet Union now that the Cold War is over and Pakistan's role as a partisan in that Cold War has ceased to exist. A serious bid needs to be made to build a closer rapport with Moscow, rather than confining it to the back burner. One example of this neglect is the fact that while successive Pakistani governments are keen to rush delegations to Washington, with a "wish-list" of expectations most of which are based on nostalgia and illusions of a past that is no longer relevant there is no serious move for even a normal relationship right next door with the USSR, even though no less a person than the Chief Justice of Pakistan, after his recent visit there, has certified the need for such a linkage.

Pakistan's two best friends, Iran and China, have developed close ties with Moscow, and even the Saudis have been receiving the Soviet Foreign Minister. And Iran, Turkey and China have also almost normalised with the Najibullah regime in Kabul. But Pakistani policy-makers seems stuck with "NATO-centric" worldview, refusing to acknowledge, let alone understand and accept, changes right in Pakistan's own neighbourhood.

Trade Policy Detailed, Analyzed

Commerce Minister's Speech

91AS1168A Lahore THE NATION in English
2 Jul 91 p 10

[Text] Islamabad—The following is the English version of the Commerce Minister's speech on trade policy 1991-92:

It is a matter of great pride and privilege for me to present to you today the first Trade Policy of the

Democratically elected government of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance]. In the last eight months IJI government has stood by its promise of bringing positive structural changes in the economy of Pakistan.

As you remember our beloved Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, had detailed consultations with trade and industry representatives on 13 November 1990. As a result of these consultation the prime minister was pleased to lay down the following guiding principles to strengthen the economy of Pakistan:

- Self-sufficiency in the production and economic resources.
- Substantial increase in exports linked with newly generated exportable surpluses and improved quality of products.
- Privatisations of economic units and deregulation of economy.

The Prime Minister was also pleased to set up an Export Committee assigned with the task of coming up with recommendations/action plan for increasing exports. These early steps taken by the prime minister gave a clear signal that exports would play a key role in strengthening the economy. Increased exports play the role of a catalyst in increasing production, employment opportunities and business avenues. They are instrumental in reducing imbalance of trade, which is a step forward in self-sufficiency. As a consequence the common man shares the fruits of increased exports and prosperity.

The aforementioned export committee after a detailed review identified the factors inhibiting growth in exports. The government approved 134 recommendations of the committee. Basic objectives of these recommendations are:

- (i) To increase production.
- (ii) To align the production process with the latest technology, production and management techniques.
- (iii) To make our products competitive in the international market.

As you know, we inherited the adverse economic situation created by Gulf war. In 1990-91 the growth rate in production and trade remained somewhat uncertain. Still there are no clear signs of coming to an end of the recessionary trend in the economy of the developed countries. Notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, we stepped up our efforts to achieve our goals. When need arose we took timely and bold decisions. We believe that formulation of economic and trade policies is a continuous process. We don't believe in putting off decisions which are required to be taken today. To take timely decisions in the overall interest of the country is the hallmark of our government.

Now I briefly state the major decisions we took to increase exports in the last eight months.

(i) The scheme of export processing units has been extended to plastic and fish processing industry. The units covered by this scheme have been totally exempted from the payment of import licence fee. The scheme has also been extended to BMR processing units provided 70 percent of the production is exported.

(ii) 1991-92 budgetary measures approved in the field of trade are basically aimed to provide a fiscal and tariff framework to encourage increased exports of value-added products. A new surcharge named as Export Development Surcharge has been imposed. From funds raised against this surcharge new institutions would be set up to increase productivity, skills and manpower capabilities to strengthen the export sector. This surcharge would also be utilised to improve marketing abroad for our export products. In this endeavour government would also supplement twice the financial resources contributed by the private sector.

(iii) The representatives of garments, leather products and processing industries have been made members of the Federal Board of Export Promotion to encourage export of value-added products. This high powered board is headed by the prime minister and is mandated to take crucial decisions to increase exports.

In the last eight months we took the following major decisions to facilitate the import process:

(i) The condition of obtaining import licence for freely importable items has been done away with.

(ii) Private sector has been allowed to import soyabean oil directly.

(iii) Import Licence fee on machinery imported for rural industrialisation has been reduced from 6 percent to 2 percent only.

(iv) Import of waste/second cuttings of stainless steel sheets/plates has been allowed freely to ensure cheap supply of raw material needed by trunk/box making industry.

I deem it essential to present to you a brief review of current year's trade trends before I announce the decisions of the next year trade policy. Since 1982 world trade has witnessed a growing trend. This positive trend continued in 1990 as well. In 1990 world touched a new record in terms of value (\$3.5 trillion). As compared to 1989 growth rate in the world trade was 13 percent. Despite these positive developments some harsh realities persisted. Developing countries kept on suffering from trade imbalances, prices of primary commodities remained imbalanced and developed countries kept on pursuing protective trade policies.

In the current financial year our export target in terms of value was fixed at US\$5635 million showing a growth rate of 13.7 percent as compared to last year. By the grace of God we were able to cross this target. In the first 11 months of the current year exports have touched the level of US\$6000 million.

Cotton yarn with an export value of US\$1076 million registered a growth rate of 46.6 percent in the current year and was the single largest item which fetched the highest export earnings. However, in years to come our endeavour would be that the maximum possible production of this item is absorbed in the country by our ancillary textile industry and this valuable raw material after being consumed in the value-added textile products brings in manifold export earnings. In larger economic interest our cotton yarn exports should be of a residual level.

Exports of tents, hosiery products, petroleum products, leather products and other miscellaneous products registered a growth rate as compared to last year in terms of value. Rice exports showed a growth rate of 72 percent in value terms.

Raw cotton exports registered a decline of 30 percent in terms of value due to increased demand in the domestic market. Exports of hand knotted carpets and vegetables showed a declining trend. This is a cause of concern and we are taking remedial measures to reverse this trend.

Import bill in the first eleven months of this year was US\$6984 million which showed a growth rate of 12.5 percent as compared to last year. By the end of the current fiscal year over all import bill would be US\$7600 million which would reflect an increase of 9.5 percent as compared to last year.

The major import items which registered an increase in value terms were machinery, crude petroleum, fertiliser and commercial vehicles. This trend is indicative of stepped up industrial activity in the country.

In the year 1989-90 trade imbalance was US\$2100 million. This year the gap has been reduced to US\$1600 million. Last year our exports financed 70 percent of our imports. This year they would finance 80 percent of imports. This positive trend is a step forward in the direction of self-sufficiency.

The objective of our trade policy is to touch an export level of US\$10 billion showing a 30 percent growth rate over the present level. To reach this target, to increase production levels and to remove many inherent weaknesses in the economic system we have already taken a number of steps like privatisation, exchange reforms, introduction of a package of incentives for rural industrialisation, increased efforts for attracting foreign investments and opposition against textile quota policies in the ongoing negotiations under GATT.

Textiles constitute the most significant component of our exports. Cotton and cotton group exports constitute about two-thirds of our total exports. We have kept an annual target of over 10 million bales of cotton production. To achieve this target we will have to bring in factors like cotton crop insurance and induction of latest technology in ginning process. We are assigning the responsibility of farm extension service to Cotton Export

Corporation of Pakistan to supplement efforts at provincial level. Cotton Export Corporation service will be available to small farmers growing cotton at less than 10 acres of land. Cotton yarn enjoys a key position in the textile industry. We plan to increase its production and improve its quality so that our cloth, hosiery and towel exporters are able to improve the quality of their products with abundant availability of yarn. To improve the quality of our value-added products we intend to provide all the possible institutional support. To bring the quality of our leather products up to international level is a part of our priorities.

World economic history has amply proved that prosperity can be achieved through adoption of free market system. The system, however, can lead to creation of monopolies cartels and concentration of wealth in few hands. Emergence of such a situation would frustrate the very purpose of free market which ideologically aims at benefitting all those who contribute to the production process through their hard work and sweat. In such a situation the State has to play its role to ensure equitable distribution of wealth and social justice. Our government stands by the policy of strengthening the system and forces of free market. However, we also resolve to lay down a framework through taxation, tariff and trade policy measures to guarantee equitable distribution of wealth and resources to every citizen, worker and farmer. In this direction we should imbibe the examples of developed countries who have succeeded to spread the fruits of free market to all the citizens.

Our objective is to bring our duty and import tariffs in consonance with those of the developed countries. We do not wish to see our industry achieve unrealistic growth under the umbrella of high tariff protections.

No industry can maintain international competitiveness and quality on the crutches of protective tariff. We would like our industrial products and prices to improve in such a way that no incentive remains for people to buy foreign items. This is only possible if we reduce the present tariff levels gradually so that the scourge of smuggling is eliminated and our industry can prosper in a healthy and competitive environment.

Now I announce the decision approved by the Federal Cabinet. These decision constitute the Trade Policy for the year 1991-92.

(i) Certain specified export-oriented industries have been made eligible to import their machinery and spare parts without payment of duty, sales tax, surcharge and import licence fee. I will announce the details of such eligible industries in my Press Conference.

(ii) As per existing practice only those industries are specified which are eligible to benefit from the concessions provided under the Export Processing Units Scheme. This practice is being changed and now only those industries would be listed which are not eligible to enjoy the benefits of this scheme.

(iii) Regulations concerning bonded warehouse and similar schemes are being simplified.

(iv) Exemption from Income Tax is being granted to hand knotted carpets at manufacturing stage for four years provided such units are established by 30 June 1995. We hope this decision will help in modernising this sector.

(v) Duty drawback system is being simplified. In a situation of increase in export duty new notification would be issued within a month. Applications for drawback fixation would be adjudicated upon within three months. Concerned trade associations would be consulted before issuance of a new notification.

(vi) Leather industry and garment industry manufacturing goods made from Pakistani cloth are exempt from Income Tax for five years provided they are set up to 30 June 1991. This period has been extended up to 20 June 1994.

(vii) To make the RMR Scheme simpler it has been decided that to obtain advance import licence under this scheme condition of redemption of previous liability may be dispensed with. This however, would be subject to the condition that processed goods are exported within one year.

(viii) A minimum protection level of credit under Export Re-finance Scheme, has been agreed. Overall credit ceiling under this scheme would be increased by 75 percent of increase in exports.

(ix) 75 percent income from the export earnings of cutlery exports have been exempted from payment of income tax.

(x) Private sector has also been allowed to export cement. Government would, however, announce six monthly exportable surplus of cement to avoid any shortage in the country.

(xi) Present restrictions on the export of horses have been removed and now horses can be exported freely.

(xii) For the facility of exporters Customs Treasury Office is being set up in the dry port of Multan.

(xiv) Import of labels to be used on exportable leather/fabric garments, has been allowed freely provided they are imported free of cost.

(xv) Effective cargo service plays a crucial role in increasing exports. Our government has inducted private sector into air cargo and shipping sectors. The facility of container terminal is being provided at Port Qasim. Gawadar Port is being constructed and expanded. It has further been decided that an official of Ministry of Commerce may represent on the Board of Directors of PIA [Pakistan International Airlines], National Shipping Corporation and Karachi Port Trust to highlight the exporters' problems concerning cargo and to evolve speedy remedial measures.

(xvi) As per existing laws there is restriction on fish catching during the breeding period between 1 June to 31 July. Steps will be taken to enforce this restriction strictly.

(xvii) Import of a few major dyes and chemicals used by the dyeing industries has been made duty free. The list of such dyes and chemicals will be announced in due course.

(xviii) Pakistan's insurance companies have been allowed to transact general insurance business outside the country. Initially 10 leading companies will be allowed to undertake this business. This will help in increasing the export of invisibles. Other details will be announced in my Press conference.

(B) Decisions About Imports

(i) The process of gradual liberalisation of import regime is an ongoing process. In furtherance of this process it has been decided to remove additional 14 items from the negative list and 6 items from the restricted list. Private sector has been allowed to import 4 such items which as per existing policy could be imported only by public sector. Details will be given in my Press conference. I may mention here that to provide adequate protection level to the local industry the effective import tariff on items removed from the negative list is 130 percent.

(ii) The condition of obtaining import licence for additional five items has been done away with.

(iii) Ceiling for the import of machinery has been increased by 25 percent.

(iv) Import of following items, used for manufacturing surgical goods, has been made duty and sales tax free:

—Etching machine—Ultrasonic apparatus—Sand blasting machine.

(v) Exporters of sports goods and surgical instruments have been allowed to import spare parts up to 2 percent of FOB [free on board] value without payment of duty.

(vi) Import of yachts and vessels for sports has been allowed under NRI [non-resident Indians] Scheme.

(vii) Annual monetary ceiling for import of bonafide free of cost trade samples (on freight pre-paid basis) has been raised from Rs 10,000 to Rs 25,000 on CIF [cost, insurance, freight] basis.

(viii) To further simplify procedural requirements following decisions have been taken:

—Only one application will be required to be presented for grant of registration as importer and exporter instead of two separate applications.

—Importer will be required to maintain record of prices paid by them for a period of three years instead of existing requirement of six years.

—Validity period of licence for the import of machinery has been extended to 24 months instead of 12 months as per request.

—Opening of joint Letter of Credit has been allowed without prior permission from the CCI&E.

—Presently value of each sub-item under the main head of Harmonised Commodity Description and Coding System is to be indicated by the importer while applying for import licence. This condition has been done away with.

(ix) A management/advisory service is being introduced in the offices of the CCI&E for the guidance of importers.

(x) It has been made obligatory that the import of pesticides will be subject to indication of expiry date of the pesticides.

Our government feels indebted to all those who helped us in formulating a realistic and forward looking Trade Policy through their invaluable advice. In the end I would like to emphasise that successful pursuit of economic policies requires patience. Unfortunately prosperity can't be achieved overnight through some magic wand. A country can be rich overnight through foreign indebtedness. We have been doing so in the past as a consequence every child in the country is under the strain of foreign debt. Now we will have to tighten our belt, otherwise the whole economic structure can collapse with a runaway inflation rate. Despite bold and austere measures the stage of prosperity would take its own time to come. To achieve our objectives our nation will have to work hard day and night. We believe that our nation is unmatched for its qualities of hard work. We will keep on endeavouring under the able leadership of nation's representative Mr. Nawaz Sharif you will not find us failing in our efforts, capabilities to take bold and timely decisions. We leave the results to Almighty Allah.

[Box]

Highlights

Islamabad—Following are the highlights of the trade policy for the fiscal year 1991-92, announced by Commerce Minister, Malik Mohammad Naeem last evening.

—It has been decided to remove 14 items from the negative list and six items from the restricted list.

—Private sector has been allowed to import four items, which could only be imported by public sector details will be given on Monday.

—The effective import tariff on items removed from the negative list is 130 percent.

—Condition of obtaining import licence fee for additional five items has been removed.

—Ceiling for import of machinery has been increased by 25 percent.

- Etching machine, ultrasonic apparatus and sand blasting have been made duty and sales tax-free.
- Exporters of sports and surgical goods can import spare parts up to two percent of free on board (FOB) value without paying duty.
- Import of yachts and vessels for sports has been allowed.
- Annual monetary ceiling for import of bona fide free of cost trade samples has been raised by Rs 15,000 on CIF basis.
- Only one application will be required for registration as importer and exporter instead of two.
- Importers will maintain record of prices paid by them for three years instead of six years.
- Validity of licence for import of machinery has been extended to 24 months instead of 12.
- Joint letter of credit can be opened without prior permission from the Chief controller of Imports and Exports.
- Advisory service is being introduced for the guidance of importers.
- Import of pesticides will be subject to indication of expiry date of pesticides.
- Certain export-oriented industries can import machinery and spare parts without paying duty, sales tax, surcharge and import licence.
- Now only those industries would gain which are not eligible to enjoy the benefits of the export processing units scheme.
- Regulations concerning bonded warehouse and similar schemes are being simplified.
- Duty drawback system is being simplified.
- Leather industry and garment industry manufacturing goods made from Pakistani cloth have been exempted from income tax till June 1994.
- RMR schemes has been simplified.
- Overall credit ceiling under export re-financing scheme would be increased by 75 percent of increase in exports.
- Private sector has been allowed to export cement.
- Horses can be exported freely.
- Fiscal year 1991-92 has been declared "export year" to boost exports.
- Import of labels for exportable leather and fabric garments have been allowed freely.

- Private sector is inducted into air cargo and shipping sectors to increase exports.
- Container service is being provided at Port Qasim, and Gawadar Port is being constructed and expanded.
- A few major dyes and chemicals have been made duty-free, list will be announced later.—APP

Salient Features Detailed

91AS1168B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Jul 91 pp 1, 12

[Text] Islamabad, 1 July—Commerce Minister Malik Naeem Ahmed has hoped that the government would be able to strike a balance between exports and imports as a result of the new trade policy which envisages several incentives for enhancing exports and liberalising imports.

He was explaining the salient features of the 1991-92 trade policy here on Monday.

He said the exports target for 1991-92 was 7660 million dollars for achieving a growth rate of 29 percent over the last fiscal year. As against it, he said that projection of imports for the current fiscal year is estimated at 7700 million dollars showing an increase of 1.3 percent over 1990-91. He said efforts will be made to push exports up to 8 billion dollars. He said Pakistan is expected to capture world market in the field of textile and leather products. He said there are trade barriers in the field of textiles. He hoped that the GATT dialogue on trade barriers would culminate by the end of the year and its results would be beneficial for Pakistan and other Third World countries.

He said the major thrust of the export policy is in the areas of broadening the base of exportable surplus for increasing foreign exchange earnings leading to self-reliance. The other salient features of the policy are special incentives for setting up export-oriented industries, diversification of export items, incentives for additional value-added products, procedural simplification and expansion and improvement of export infrastructures.

He said the key elements of the export policy are

- (1) elimination of duties and front loading of value-added textile industry and leather industry;
- (2) special incentives for textile processing and weaving industry;
- (3) income tax exemption on carpet manufacturing;
- (4) extension of income tax exemption on manufacturing for garment and leather industries;
- (5) extension of coverage of export processing unit scheme;

(6) provision of additional export finance for incremental exports;

(7) improvements in bonded warehousing and duty drawback schemes; and

(8) 75 percent exemption of income tax on export of cutlery.

Malik Naeem announced duty free import of machinery and spare parts for value-added textiles and leather industries. Accordingly, there will be no import duties, import surcharge, Iqra surcharges and import licences fee for both commercial and industrial importers of (1) shuttleless looms along with power generators; (2) made-ups, garments, hosiery and towel industry; (3) textile processing industry; (4) leather finishing industry; (5) leather manufactures excluding footwear. This facility would be granted for a period of two years.

The minister also announced special incentives for textile processing and weaving industry. He said apart from zero rated tariff for machinery and spares, additional incentives and facilities are required to develop textile processing and weaving industry. It has been decided by the government that due to high investment cost of shuttleless looms and textile processing units, additional funds for investment support will be provided to these sectors.

Besides, import of major dyes and chemicals used by the processing industry has been made duty free. Investors in both industries will not be questioned about the source of their investment.

Lastly, priority will be given to supply of water to processing and finishing industries.

In order to encourage consolidation of scattered units of hand-knotted carpets, it has been decided to grant total exemption of income tax at manufacturing stage for a period of two years up to 30 June 1995. The government has exempted from income tax manufacturers of garments and leather goods for three years, that is, up to 30 June 1994.

Malik Naeem said in order to finance additional export growth, it has been decided to increase the minimum protected ceiling to provide for at least 75 percent of the incremental exports.

He said to extend the coverage of the export processing unit scheme to all value-added industries, it has been decided to notify a negative list as follows:

(a) Primary animal and agricultural products in their unprocessed form e.g.

(i) natural fibers including raw cotton,

(ii) vegetables,

(iii) fruits,

(iv) cereals all sorts

(v) oil seeds,

(vi) hides and skins,

(vii) live animals and

(viii) animal hair.

(b) Primary mineral products in their unprocessed form:

(i) salt,

(ii) earths and stones,

(iii) lime,

(iv) pearls and precious stones and

(v) ores all sorts.

(c) Semi-processed agricultural products e.g.

(i) cotton year,

(ii) wet blue leather and

(iii) wood in rough or squared form.

(d) Other products: (i) waste and scrap.

In view of the government's policy not to encourage horse racing, it has been decided that all race horses will be allowed to be exported without any procedural restrictions.

In order to utilise existing idle capacity, it has been decided that private sector will be allowed to export comment against quota to be fixed on six-monthly basis by the Ministry of Production.

In order to supplement the foreign exchange earnings through export of services, it has been decided that Pakistani insurance companies would be allowed to transact business in foreign countries. Initially 10 leading companies in the private sector will be allowed to operate in foreign countries.

In order to liberalise import of price labels/tags it has been decided that their import may be allowed in bond without the condition of bank guarantee. Condition of obtaining import permit has already been dispensed with recently.

Cutlery is a value-added industry but an exemption of only 50 percent has been granted. In order to promote this industry it has been decided to grant an exemption of 75 percent from income tax against export of cutlery.

Some contraband items are confiscated by customs and are auctioned within the country which adversely affect the local manufacturers of such goods like fabrics. In order to forestall such a possibility and to earn foreign exchange it has been decided to allow export of such confiscated goods by Trading Corporation of Pakistan.

Policy Praised

91AS1168C Lahore THE NATION in English
2 Jul 91 p 6

[Text] A new trade policy in Pakistan has now come to mean more an export policy than the important policy on which there was an almost total focus in the past. It is proper that should be so in a developing country whose imports have been far in excess of the exports, and as a result there has been a large balance of payments deficit. The focus on imports has moved away from steady liberalisation of imports, both in respect of the items as well as the quantity, and the drastic simplification of

import procedures. So the removal of 14 items from the negative list and six items more from the restricted list shows the small scope for further import liberalisation.

It is proper that the government is going all out for increasing the exports after it has achieved remarkable success last year despite the Gulf War which upset exports to that region. Exports last year ending 30 June, exceeded six billion dollars against the target of 5,635 million dollars. That became possible because of the 46.6 percent increase in the value of the cotton yarn exports and 72 percent in rice exports, which more than offset a 30 percent fall in cotton export earnings. But if all that encouraged the Commerce Minister, Malik Naeem Khan to set a target of ten billion dollar exports for the current year or 66 percent more, he was embarking on an absurd wild goose chase. He did well to readjust the target the next day at 7.66 billion or 29 percent more than in the last year. But even this is a very ambitious target compared to the 13.9 percent more set for the last year. And it would need close cooperation among the agricultural growers, industrialists, exporters and officials at all levels, to achieve that high target.

If the 7.66 billion export target is achieved Pakistan will have a balanced trade as the imports are projected at 7.70 billion next year compared to 6.98 billion last year. Evidently the steady devaluation of the rupee has checked the growth of imports strikingly, while that has been helpful for exports. It is indeed proper that the focus now is on increasing the volume of manufactured exports, particularly in the textile sector which has been given several import and fiscal concessions. Leather manufactures are also to get a major boost along with hand-knotted carpets. And certainly, Pakistan can earn far more from fish exports if the neglected industry is developed in a big way, as it should be. Business and industry have welcomed the new trade policy unreservedly, and it is now for them to make a real success of that and achieve the high target.

Policy Questioned

91AS1168D Lahore THE NATION in English
2 Jul 91 p 6

[Text] The major problems in formulating the trade policy of a developing country like Pakistan—which does not have nature-given wealth like oil or precious minerals—always is to find ways of limiting imports and expanding exports, so that unmanageable balance of payment deficits are avoided and the country's credit in the international market, remains high. In announcing the first full-term trade policy of the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government, the Federal Commerce Minister, Malik Mohammad Naeem Khan, has said that the trade imbalance has been reduced to 1600 million dollars, as against 2100 million dollars for last year. It was to reduce this imbalance further that the new policy seems to have been fashioned. Whether it will succeed in this aim, remains to be seen. It is always easy to import and difficult to export. The import bill of the outgoing

year showed a growth rate of 12.5 percent in value over the previous year. The estimated growth in imports during the current year is 9.5 percent. The Minister has not given figures of the overall exports in value, for one to be able to calculate the pressure on the balance of payment, but he has mentioned the fact that cotton yarn exports showed a growth rate of 46.6 percent and rice exports showed a growth rate of 72 percent. He pointed out, however, that exports of vegetables declined. This may not be much of a setback. Greater local consumption may have been responsible for the smaller surplus available for export or the Gulf war may have shrunk their demand abroad.

Much more serious is the decline in the export of hand-knotted carpets, because it is a value-added item. Our decline in raw cotton export, for example, is not bad, so long as value-added cotton products can be increased. The expansion in yarn export is not much of a consolation, because the margin of added value on cotton is very small. If Hong Kong, South Korea, Turkey and a large number of other countries, which do not grow much cotton either, can export garments, which represent the maximum value-added cotton products, why cannot Pakistan do so? The minister has said that his aim was to have zero export of yarn in the years to come, but he did not say, how does he aim to achieve that? He could have, for example, constituted a body of textile manufacturers to tour the potential garment markets abroad and announced incentives for joint ventures with well-known foreign garment manufacturers, capable of lifting billions of dollars worth of garments every month. Then there are such small items as sanitary ware and bathroom tiles. Given special incentives, their export to Western countries can easily be multiplied, etc. The point is that while the policy is aimed in the right direction, it needs to be filled in with concrete details to prove effective.

Commentary Views Federal Budget

91AS1092C Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
13 Jun 91 p 10

[Article by M. Anees Pervez]

[Text] The budget for fiscal 1991-92, first of IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government, has belied many assumptions built round commonly wailed bleak economic scenario. Setting aside fears of heavy taxation in the consumers realm, the budget proposals sent waves of shock among lust-fed hoarders who anticipating levies on usual tax-prone pack of consumer goods piled up stocks only to be left dazed. To their consternation Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz announced cuts in the prices of atta, vegetable, ghee and pulses in bid to mitigate hardships of the common man who has been victim of a vicious price spiral.

The reductions though regarded marginal will far more conductively influence the general price situation than is being presently felt. The relief clearly demonstrates

regime's impassioned will to hold the price line and contain monster of inflation to a cherished single digit limit.

The Rs[rupees]258.3 billion budget - 10.85 percent larger in size than of the outgoing financial year - unveiled by a Finance Minister entangled in the dilemma of raising additional resources to meet yawning demands for development and mass welfare without straining the already distressed strata of society, is a remarkable achievement.

The effort has to be appreciated in the perspective of aftermath of invasion of Kuwait by Iraq in early August last culminating into a 6-week full scale Gulf War in January/February this year. The stormy event hiked oil and petroleum products prices, disrupted their supplies, whittled down remittances and adversely affected marketing of exports in the region subjecting country's balance of payments to a loss of 700 million, burdening the budget and fuelling inflation.

The government undaunted by the imbroglio succeeded in minimizing impact of the convulsion and boldly mounted a comprehensive programme of privatization, de-regulation, taxation reforms and industrialization to pull the economy out of its quagmire. To underpin economic bolstering it opened doors of investment on local and foreign investors through an unprecedented package of incentives. The new budget embodies the framework to act as spring board for actualizing the reforms in concrete terms in the longrun.

The Finance Minister at his post budget news conference spelled out realization of collective welfare of vastly spread low income groups and acceleration in the pace of industrial and agricultural production as basic ends of the budget. The objectives are totally in line with the IJI manifesto which pledged 'to work for bright and glorious future and liberate our people from the bonds of political servitude, economic deprivation, social degradation and psychological fear and uncertainty and lead them towards a just social order based on Islamic principles, ensuring a life of security and honor'. The economic philosophy conceived and being pursued by the regime is to revolutionize the production process on the basis of self-reliance and lift the people from the mire of deprivation through wider dispersal of economic benefits.

The budget 1991-92 proposes establishment of a 'Bait ul Maal' to look after the poor, orphans, widows and deserving. The persons above 65 with no source of income will also be entitled to a stipend from the 'Bait ul Maal', the widows and orphan girls will be provided with sewing machines and other means of income on the basis of 'Qarz-e-Hasna' and financial assistance will be made available for the marriage of helpless orphan girls. Also the large industrial and business establishments with capital of Rs 50 million, Rs 100 million and Rs 250 million or more will be required to pay a one time tax of Rs 0.5 million, Rs 1.0 million and Rs 2.0 million respectively to raise initial funds for the 'Bait ul Maal'.

The measure marks a revolutionary beginning towards fulfillment of moral and social obligation on the part of the State and rich organizations towards alleviation of poverty from the society and fully conforms to the glorious Islamic teachings and traditions.

In an innovative move to transform life of least developed communities, the budget envisages setting up of a fund, to be financed from out of the proceeds of privatization. Under the programme basic social services/activities like population, nutrition and health, primary and middle education and community infrastructure will be undertaken in the target rural and urban areas at grass root level to promote uplift of the deprived communities. The non-official community development organizations; manned by representatives of each community, will be created to identify community needs and secure allocations from the proposed fund. These bodies will endeavour to increase enrollment of children and to provide funding for the community infrastructure projects-funding to be equally matched through the proposed fund. The programme aims at not only generating employment opportunities for the youth but also enabling them to serve their regions.

Apart from implementing Rs 600 million population welfare programmes, the budget seeks to execute a short-term environmental protection project costing Rs 150 million as part of a long term strategy to provide clean water and clear air to the people, to protect biodiversity and to promote rational use of energy and natural resources.

The budget accords high priority to the development of education with focus on quality by enlarging scope of private investment in this critical field. To achieve the objective a national education foundation will be established to provide matching grants to provincial education foundations which in turn will offer matching grants to non-governmental organizations or individuals interested in setting up educational institutions. Local bodies will be encouraged through liberal incentives to establish schools with Provincial governments picking up 75 percent of the capital and recurring expenses. One third of the capital costs incurred by the Provincial governments will be reimbursed from the Federal exchequer after the facility has been established.

With a view to expanding technical and vocational training facilities in every grants to the Provinces. The total national investment in education is targeted to be pushed up from its present level of 2.3 percent of GDP [gross domestic product] in 1989-90 to at least 3.5 percent - more than 50 percent - by 1995-96.

In the health sector, an integrated policy is on the anvil to improve health services and provide stronger health cover to the people on a wider scale. As a further measure in the direction, the budget proposes to allow duty free import of hospital equipment for hospitals with 20 beds or more. Under a system of matching grants for health institutions to be established by the private sector

and local bodies the Federal government will extend 50 percent of the matching grant.

In order to fight the menace of unemployment, an accelerated training programme through national training bureaus with the active participation of Federal and Provincial governments, local bodies and the private sector is being undertaken. In the budget, credit facilities and other assistance is being provided to those organizations which are expanding their resources on training.

Small scale and Cottage industries will be given high priority by the government to expand employment opportunities. A special window is being provided in the Small Business Finance Corporation to give loans to cottage industries on concessional terms; similar facility will be created for women in the first Women Bank.

A lucrative provision of Rs 6 billion has been made to implement recommendations of the National Pay Committee, expected to be announced shortly. The government employees and pensioners, hardest-hit by an unabated cruel price hike will hopefully get a realistic boost in their salaries, pensions and perks effective June 1, 1991.

The parameters of package of economic reforms announced by the government in the past six months have been pragmatically incorporated in the budget with due fiscal cushioning to step up pace of growth on a sound and sustained basis. Accelerated increases in the production sectors of industry and agriculture, larger investment inflows and a further upsurge in exports seem to be quite attainable as a consequence of resolute implementation of the policies devised thus far and the measures proposed in the budget. The most distinct feature of the budget, however, stays to be its welfare orientation. It has sought to stir and invoke state's moral responsibilities towards promotion of common good taking a benign appraisal of deprived status of the teeming millions and pressing into action a radical strategy to bring a promising turn in their lives.

Editorial Views Inadequate Sindh Budget

91AS1092A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
10 Jun 91 p 6

[Text] The crisis-ridden Sindh needs far more than the current account revenues of Rs[rupees]19.93 billion to be mobilized in the next financial year, but the provincial Financial Minister Liaquat Jatoi is content with presenting a revenue budget in which the increase in expenditure next year will be 13.5 percent more than in the current financial year, and an Annual Development Plan [ADP] of Rs 4.44 billion which will be 19.7 percent more than in the current year. That means that if adjusted against the inflation of 15 percent, next year's revenue expenditure will be less than in the current year in real terms while the ADP will be about five percent larger than the current year's. And that is awfully disappointing. Such a modest increase in the resource mobilization of Sindh will take place despite the fact that the

province's share of the divisible pool of the federally collected revenues will rise next year by Rs 6.76 million, it will get Rs 700 million as a special grant under the National Finance Commission's award for each of the next five years, the center's contribution to the Rs 4.44 billion ADP of Rs 3.41 billion as loans, and the Tamir-i-Sindh programme of Rs 2.25 billion to be funded out of the special grant of rupees one billion within five years announced by Prime Minister Nawas Sharif following his visit to the less developed areas of Sindh.

Despite such large inflow of funds from the center, the ADP allocation for the crumbling problem-ridden Karachi out of the ADP will be only 9.47 percent which is grossly inadequate. In addition, Sindh government has not for too long now taken decision on permitting the Karachi Municipal Corporation to collect the Motor Vehicle Tax from which the government will collect a total of Rs 350 million next year. Mr Jatoi does not want to come up with proposals for additional resources not because he does not want to add to the tax burdens of the poor, as he contended, but as he does not want to tax the rural rich to which he belongs despite the clamor of the cabinet's MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] partners to tax agricultural incomes and abolish feudalism. The Vaderas will be major beneficiaries of the Rs 55.1 million to be spent on water power and agriculture, Rs 729 million to be spent on rural development, Rs 733 billion on physical planning and housing and Rs 497 billion on transport and communication, principally road-building. And yet if they will not pay taxes on their large agricultural incomes that is too bad and poverty in rural Sindh will be endemic.

First-Time Surplus in NWFP Budget Acclaimed

91AS1092B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
12 Jun 91 pp 1, 10

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text] Peshawar, June 11: The tax-free budget estimates of the Frontier province presented in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] assembly on Tuesday for the fiscal year 1991-92 showed a big surplus of Rs[rupees]1307.819 million. This was for the first time since the inception of the province in 1932 that receipts would exceed the expenditure.

Presenting the budget, Finance Minister Mohsin Ali Khan said the surplus had been made possible by the National Finance Commission award under which not only the profits from the hydel power generation would start coming to the province but the divisible pool had also been enlarged on the basis of the 1981 population count.

Similarly, he said, the federal government had also raised the Frontier's subvention by hundred percent and these major additions to the income had made it possible to come out with a substantial development outlay. The next year's development programme in fact, he said, envisaged a total expenditure of Rs 5090.888 million

under different heads showing an increase of about Rs 800 million over the revised estimates for the current year.

The minister expected that the province will get Rs 6582.400 million as its share from the federal taxes next year, showing an increase of 53.02 percent over the current year. Similarly the profits from the hydel power generation would amount to Rs 5987.500 million. The province will also get Rs 200 million as subvention and Rs 4.751 million as special purposes grant. He said only 9.01 percent of the total income would be forthcoming from its own revenue receipts and in order to ensure speedy progress, the recovery he emphasized will have to be improved and new avenues of taxation found.

The Nawabzada, who read from his text, claimed that it was not a routine budget but a historic achievement coming in the wake of the restoration of the constitutional rights of the people, hitherto denied to them. In this context he referred to the Indus Water Accord and the National Finance Commission Award which he remarked deserved to be called the national solidarity award. These two developments, he said, had a special significance as it had ended the ad hoc financial arrangements in vogue since 1979.

The Sarhad Assembly, he suggested, could rightly feel proud of the fact that the Frontier's budget despite being tax-free would be deficit free. In this connection he thanked the governments of the past and the joint efforts of the political leadership, which sided with the sitting government in its constitutional struggle for the fiscal rights. The Prime Minister, he added, deserved a word of special praise for his personal interest and help in resolving the complex outstanding issues.

The next year's budget he said had been prepared under the direct supervision and guidance of the Chief Minister, who played the key role in the apportionment of the Indus Waters and the NFC Award, which he added would bring revolutionary changes in agricultural, social and economic sectors in the province.

The Finance Minister also announced a number of steps to reduce the government expenses on different accounts. From July 1 next all government officials will bear five percent of the cost of their residential telephone bills, a ceiling on the consumption of petrol for all officials below the rank of the provincial secretaries, cut in the entertainment expenses during office hours, vigilance on the use of project vehicles, reduced cost on the fixture and furnishing of the offices, changes in the TA rules and emphasis on the use of fax machines for transmission of government messages instead of the telephone.

The Minister also announced a 25 percent concession for the industrial units going into production in the rural areas of Peshawar and Mardan divisions and whole of Hazara, Malakand, Kohat and D. J. Khan divisions from the next fiscal year and an additional concession of two

percent in the mark up on industrial loans in the said areas. The industrial units entitled to these concessions will be notified later.

Expressing concern over the mounting unemployment the Finance Minister said side by side with reducing the non-developmental expenditures, 4116 new posts would be created in different departments.

Similarly the additional incentives for industrialization should also help expand the employment opportunities. He said it was proposed to introduce the graded formula for the promotion of college and polytechnic institution teachers, which will benefit nearly 2000 teachers. Besides better service structure, benefits would be provided to the teachers in BPS 17 and above. The primary school teachers having higher academic qualifications than the required minimum standard would also get better incentives. This will cover 9500 teachers with an extra cost of Rs 75 million.

Population Growth Portends Disaster

Need for National Consensus

91AS1212A Lahore THE NATION in English
10 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti: "Urgent Action Needed To Defuse Population Bomb"]

[Text] The people of Pakistan have been exposed over the past few years to the phenomenon of terrorist explosions, some of them originating from the Afghanistan problem, others from a variety of anti-social elements. The machinery of law and order is constantly being mobilised to deal with bombs that are planted to create commotion and anxiety as well as public unrest. However, there is another bomb ticking away, which threatens to undermine the established order and is likely to cause infinitely greater damage to the social fabric. This is the population bomb. It is a bomb that exists in most Third World countries, ranging from Morocco to China. Even the developed countries are concerned over the global implications of this phenomenon, though their own problem is of a different order, namely, slow to negative growth. However, despite the clearly-established fact that rapid population increase slows down development, Pakistan has yet to display the concern and sense of urgency needed to tackle this menace seriously.

While serving as Ambassador of Pakistan to China from 1982 to 1986, I had the satisfaction of seeing Sino-Pakistan cooperation extend into several new fields, including that of family planning. As a result, the two countries established annual programmes of exchanges of visits and of information to learn from each other's experience in the field.

What struck me with considerable force was the fact that in various presentations, Pakistan had the edge in style and sophistication in displaying facts and figures, but

our actual performance in slowing down the rate of increase in population was far from impressive. On the other hand, the Chinese achievement in bringing down the birth rate through a combination of motivation and executive measures is a matter of record.

During a tour I undertook of the Ningxia Province, which has a large Muslim population, I was particularly interested in knowing how far the policy of slowing down the growth rate in the population had succeeded there. I was informed that the authorities were aware of the influence of religious belief in such matters and had therefore begun the introduction of family planning with the compilation of texts and quotations from Islamic Sharia by Muslim scholars themselves, that favoured the limitation of families to available resources. The governor of the province, himself a Muslim had got together the Imams and requested their assistance, which had been extended after intensive consultations among them. I also learnt that executive measures, that stipulated a one-child family, were not applied to the Muslims partly because of their status as a minority, and partly because of the fact that they were engaged in pastoral pursuits, in which they needed to be assisted by larger families. In sum, the Chinese policies on controlling the population had worked.

In China, the population had doubled in the three decades after the revolution in 1949, when it was realised that the goals of modernisation would not be achieved unless the galloping increase in members was tamed. Consequently the problem was entrusted to a commission that proceeded to implement a national policy to keep the population growth at a certain level. The Chinese have certain traditions that are deeply embedded in their culture: a strong family loyalty, and a belief that having a male child is the only way for the family name to endure. As such there has been backsliding here and there, specially in rural areas, but on the whole the Chinese achievement in family planning rated a special UN award five years ago.

Other countries, among them predominately Islamic ones such as Indonesia and Bangladesh, have achieved a significant reduction in their rates of population growth from above 3 percent per annum to around 2.5 percent. However, despite the investment of considerable resources, Pakistan's annual growth rate in population has remained above 3 percent. Our population, estimated at around 35 million at the time of independence, has more than tripled to above 110 million. Actual increase, if measured from 1901, has been nine times as against a global increase of 300 percent. The projections about the future are even more worrisome: a total population of 150 million in the year 2000, another doubling to 300 million in the year 2025, and an eventual though not absolutely certain levelling off, after the total exceeds 400 million by around 2040.

The consequences of this explosion of growth are already visible in the persistence of poverty, illiteracy and poor health care, in the declining quality of life in our

sprawling cities and above all in the spread of corruption into virtually all walks of life as increasing numbers compete for employment and other scarce openings. Crimes ranging from theft and dacoity to kidnapping have proliferated largely because of economic compulsions rooted in the population growth. There is virtually no sphere of national life that has not been adversely affected by the population problem.

Perhaps the most pathetic aspect of the repercussions of the population increase is that too many people live in conditions of abject poverty. The statistical reflection of this poverty is that over 60 percent of our people do not have access to potable water, Pakistan has one of the highest rates of infant mortality in the world, and the overwhelming majority of the people live in crowded, insanitary, conditions, with pollution and environmental degradation assuming menacing proportions. The statistics cannot depict the deprivation, the frustration and misery that exist among three quarters of our population.

There are other facets of the population explosion, and the most glaring of them is in the field of literacy which is a basic component of the well-being of the people. In this sphere, we have literally been running very hard just to stay where we are. Pakistan began with a literacy rate of around 25 percent in 1947; today, 44 years later, that rate is still estimated at 26 percent and this is a direct consequence of the population increase. In 1947, we had around 9 million literate people, today that number is nearly 30 million. But while we had some 27 million illiterates in 1947, their number is over 80 million today.

The geometric progression in population increase has bred unemployment on a heartbreaking scale, led to a crowding of traffic on our roads which are not only inadequate but subject to steady deterioration owing to lack of resources to maintain them. Even our dependence on foreign aid for our development is directly related to the steep population increase since the capacity to save and to invest is affected seriously when there are over 3 million new mouths to feed each year. As villages cannot provide sustenance to the rapidly increasing population, there is an exodus to the cities, which not only witness the rise of shanty-towns to accommodate the new arrivals, but also have to cope with the rising tide of crime. There is rampant corruption because either political pull or bribes are needed to gain access to scarce openings, be they in admission to educational institutions or in job opportunities. Merit and quality are stifled under such conditions.

Perhaps the most serious handicap we have in Pakistan in getting to grips with the problem of population growth is our inability to evolve a national consensus. The religious political parties features luminaries who, while exerting themselves to establish the supremacy of Shariah, show little readiness to recognise the grim implications of the runaway population increase. Indeed the common man is told that since God Almighty grants life, he will also provide, and in any case, man is born with

one mouth to feed but two hands to earn a living. What is unfortunately lacking is a realisation that man has achieved breakthroughs in medicine that have lowered the death rate, while the birth rate continues to remain high, with a higher proportion of newly-born children surviving than in the past. Consequently, some planning or discipline is needed to restore the balance. Failing such controls, Third World countries are likely to face Malthusian disasters such as famines and pestilence to bring their population in line with available food resources.

According to our belief, Islam is destined to provide guidance to mankind for all time to come, and has provision within it for adjusting to new challenges and situations on the basis of Ijtihad. Muslim scholars in many lands have conducted research into Islamic texts and have come to the conclusion that Islam is not opposed to family planning. Traditions of the Prophet (PBUH) have been cited, permitting the exercise of practices that would not burden families that lack resources or have health problems, with children. While artificial devices whose widespread utilisation might encourage licence are discouraged, measures based on personal discipline and self-control are perfectly compatible with the Islamic way of life. We need to solicit the participation of enlightened ulema and religious scholars to work out in some detail the line of action that would bring about a change in the present situation where a gulf exists between government policy and the basic attitude of the ulema.

As in many other areas of our national life, we are displaying a tragic casualness, and a disinclination to address long-term problems, in dealing with the issue of population. Though the arithmetic of what confronts us to meet the basic needs of the additional millions being added to our numbers is frightening, the democratically-elected governments have barely gone along with the aid-giving agencies in maintaining a family planning set-up. There is neither a sense of urgency, nor of realism among the decision-makers, with some articulate voices even drawing satisfaction from the comparatively higher growth rate of the populations of Islamic countries. They have not taken note of the fact that a majority of countries where famine now recurs have a largely Muslim population, whether it is Ethiopia, the Sudan or the countries of the Sahel region in Africa. In Asia also Bangladesh depends heavily on outside help to sustain its population which is 90 percent Muslim. In a good year, when weather conditions are favourable Pakistan is just able to feed its population. Given adverse weather, or damage to crops by pests or flooding, we are obliged to spend scarce foreign exchange to import wheat and other edibles.

Pakistan requires a sound population policy, better fiscal management and planned development, in order to achieve its goals of self-reliance and prosperity. If we continue to let things drift, and the graph of population increase continues climb at its present rate, not only will any meaningful improvement in our living standards

remain elusive, but all the consequences of uncontrolled growth including greater poverty and suffering, and the resultant civil commotion and deterioration in the quality of life will be the inevitable outcome. The underlying cause for a great many of our problems is the runaway expansion of our population. If we do not use human intelligence and discipline to bring it under control, Malthusian controls such as famines, civil strife and pestilence will bring it into balance with the resources available to us. Already it is late, but any further delay in unified and urgent action would spell disaster.

Statistical Details

91AS1212B Karachi DAWN in English

12 Jul 91 pp 1, 2

[Article by Anjum Niaz: "A Sustainable Population...for People's Sake"—first paragraph is DAWN introduction]

[Text] The first ever produced Human Development Index on Pakistan is spotlighted along with our state of population growth on the occasion of the World Population Day—11 July 1991.

"There can be no human development without people being alive, healthy, knowledgeable, and able to make a decent living. These are the essentials that must be ensured if people are to take charge of their own development, if they are to create their own opportunities, economic, social and political."

Can Pakistan look William Draper, initiator of the above words in the eye and agree? Can it convince the UNDP [UN Development Program] Chief that in Pakistan, men, women, and children are the centre of attention...with development woven around them and not people around development?

No. Damning data exposes all...our balance sheet of human development with regard to health, education, income and employment, women's status, population and environment and the quality of life appears antithetical to development.

Human Development Report 1991 presented to the world on 27 May, by none other than Pakistan's former Finance and Planning Minister, Mahbub ul Haq, as Draper's Special Adviser, showed Pakistan in a poor light: "Pakistan has had an impressive annual growth rate (around 6 percent) but has failed to translate this into human progress."

How? According to the Human Development Index (HDI) which spotlights gender disparities, income distribution, human progress and human freedom, out of 160 developing countries, Pakistan's rank is 120!! It thus comes out as 'Low.' Let's take a look at the Human Deprivation scale, the following indicators hold the mirror to our masses socio-economic misery:

- There are 54.6 million Pakistanis without access to health.

- There are 67.5 million Pakistanis without access to safe drinking water.
- There are 97.6 million Pakistanis without access to sanitation.
- There are 12 million children under 5 who are malnourished.
- There are 46 million illiterate Pakistani adults.
- There are 25.7 million children out of school.
- There are 36.8 million Pakistanis below poverty line.

Why?? Why are the above millions of Pakistanis denied access to a decent life? Why has Pakistan such a low human expenditure ratio despite reasonable overall levels of public expenditure. Why are its social allocations and social priority ratios so low? Before one ventures to answer these questions, the report itself provides the answers:

Nearly \$50 billion a year... about 2 percent of the GNP [gross national product] of developing countries could be released for more productive purposes. Much of this could come from freezing military expenditures, which absorb 5.5 percent of the GNP of the developing world. "In some of the poorest countries like Pakistan, this spending is at least twice that on health and education."

"In Pakistan, the illegitimate private gain from one's public position is unofficially estimated at 4 percent of the GNP."

"Inequality is one of the most striking features of South Asia...between rich and poor, males and females, different regions and different ethnic groups. In rural Punjab, landless families have infant mortality levels 36 percent higher than those for landowning families.

The report concludes "High government spending with low social priorities is the worst case. If 25 percent or more of national income is channelled through the government budget and yet less than 1 percent of GNP goes into human priority concerns as in Pakistan, than this is the worst of all possible worlds."

Why, once again, one asks are the 122 million Pakistanis held hostage of such lopsided policies of inefficient, corrupt, unimaginative and unscrupulous politicians and policymakers??

"Lack of political commitment, rather than lack of financial resources is usually the real cause of human neglect," opines William Draper. And his report goes on to enumerate: Many people would argue that the present arrangements suit those in power...and their influential supporters, that is why there is university education for the children of the rich rather than primary education for farmers' children; luxury flats rather than low cost housing for the urban poor; subsidised food for urban officials and the military rather than real incentives for poor farmers. The self-interest or "public choice" school of political economy asserts that all the players...citizens, politicians and bureaucrats...seek to influence public policy to their own ends.

The biggest casualty of political apathy and indifference today is the Population Welfare Programme. Born 27 years ago, the Population Ministry has not only changed many names, but has been fielded by indifferent players. During this long inning, many a minister and many a secretary has come and gone...the most recent entrant into the portals of the Ministry is Syeda Abida Hussain, who has been appointed by Mian Nawaz Sharif as his Adviser on Population. Given the circumstances, she is perhaps the best choice...she is young, she is outspoken, and she's committed! But...can Syeda Abida Hussain deliver?? She has enough charisma, enough drive, enough grassroots experience to shake up the shell-shocked Population Ministry, suitably beef it up and produce results!! But the Adviser can only show results if (and it's a big if) she is allowed to work unhindered.

She has said in her various statements to the Press, that IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] government under its leader Nawaz Sharif is the only government that has taken family planning in Pakistan seriously and is keen to see "that the growth rate is controlled." According to her, the only two areas where her government has made no cuts in the budget are Defence and Population Control.

This statement of hers is paradoxical...it only proves right what the UNDP Report has accused Pakistan of committing: spending 5 percent on defence and less than half of that on human development!!

But while Syeda Abida Hussain may not be successful in convincing her leader for a cut in defence spending (perhaps only World Bank can twist the IJI's arm) she can at least ensure that the funds allocated for her Ministry are spent wisely and well.

Also, the fundamentalists have to be kept at bay. They have tried to intimidate the Population Welfare Ministry by declaring family planning as un-Islamic. Only recently, a religious group disapproved a TV discussion on family planning participated by Syeda Abida Hussain, Dr. Attiya Inayatullah, Prof. Laeeq Ahmed Khan and Dr. M.S. Jilani, in which quotes from the Quran were cited in favour of family planning. It is hoped that neither Abida Hussain, nor PTV [Paksitan TV] will be pressurised by such groups who are oblivious to the low levels of human development presently plaguing Pakistanis.

Yet another step backwards is the withdrawal of Durex condom ads from newspapers and magazines. They have hurt the religious sentiments of some of our stalwarts whose support and goodwill, the present government can ill afford to lose!! The publicity on the use of condoms in the media for child-spacing is a Social Marketing Contraceptives (SMC) project which has achieved remarkable results in providing contraceptives case.

Political commitment then is the singlemost factor in the success of curbing our population. This fact is only too well-known both to our people and those abroad working in the area of population control.

The UN headquarters in New York was the venue of Dr. Mahbub ul Haq's unfolding of the UNDP Report, followed by Dr. Nafis to child-bearing couples in Pakistan at very reasonable rates. SMC deserves to be encouraged, not shunned as had been the recent Sadik's statement at the opening meeting of the 38th Session of the UNDP Governing Council on 3 June. "Goals and targets in fertility and family planning are for the first time part of international strategies. Countries in all parts of the developing world are moving ahead with increasingly more complex population programmes," she said.

Nafis Sadik, a Pakistani and the first woman to become head of a UN agency, UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) is the only UN Agency Chief to have been given an extension by the outgoing UN Secretary General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and has been designated as the Secretary General of the International Conference on Population and Development to be held in 1994. Dr. Sadik has done an excellent job in getting developing countries to cut down their birth rate. The only country she has failed to convince is her own beloved Pakistan!! "I feel terribly embarrassed when people ask me about Pakistan," she confesses.

She is not the only one to feel uncomfortable each time Pakistan scores a "Low" in population control, women and development at international forums. Speaking to one of our delegates from the Permanent Mission to the UN, during the UNDP Governing Council Session in New York, I was told: "We feel awful about Pakistan's pathetic Human Development Index. And now we are hurriedly putting together a reply of some sorts, to counter the criticism that the UNDP Report carries.

Sure enough, the Pakistani leader of the delegation the next day did cite a high-level population appraisal mission of the UNFPA that visited Pakistan in March 1991 stating: "The present (Pakistani government, starting at the highest level, is extremely concerned with the non-sustainability of the current explosive population growth rate." Waffling further, he said "the present government is fully committed to arrest the trends of population growth which unfortunately are culturally inherent in a society that leans heavily on the agricultural sector...an extra head means an additional worker in an area where mechanisation is still not well entrenched." This perhaps the best excuse our Pakistani diplomat could come up with regarding our abominable multiplication of rustics!! But I am sure, nobody took this excuse seriously. It was not only lame, but too simplistic in its explanation.

Robert Gillespie, President of the California-based Population Communication is a common visitor to Pakistan. Actively involved in assisting our population welfare programme, he says: "What is amazing about the age profile in Pakistan is that 44 percent of the population is below 15. It would take a one child family for the next 40 years to stabilise growth at 120 million!" Unfortunately, this kind of logic seems to go over the heads of our policymakers, who refuse to look beyond their own terms in office. We all know, (and it doesn't require a

genius to figure out) that in 9 years, there will be 28 million more Pakistanis living in a country whose Human Development Index is already so low. What then will be the quality of life for the 150 million Pakistanis by the year 2000 is too terrible to even envisage. Who then will we hold responsible for such a sorry state?

Other than Ayub Khan, (whose downfall many attribute to propagating family planning) no other leader has had the courage to come out in the open in support of family planning. While all have made token noises about decreasing our fertility, none has attempted to tackle this number one problem on a number one priority basis.

Need for 'Political Will'

91AS1212C Karachi DAWN in English 13 Jul 91 p 7

[Text] Today is the World Population Day, which has been observed since 1987 when global population reached the five billion mark. With a population of 5.4 billion likely to rise to 6.4 billion by the turn of the century, the world is now reeling under the weight of over-population. The problem has manifested itself in the form of poverty, ignorance and ill-health with which hundred of millions of people are plagued, massive depletion of natural resources and the erosion of the environment apart from the political friction and economic inequity that characterise the global scene. The most disquieting aspect of the problem is the phenomenal disparity in the global distribution of population, with the impoverished Third World accounting for 80 percent of the world's population. True, some countries like China have made remarkable progress in slashing down their population growth rate. But many others like Pakistan have failed to even address the problem seriously.

From 33.8 million in 1951, Pakistan's population has galloped to 113 million today. Its growth rate of 3.1 percent is one of the highest in the world—higher than the average for the Third World. This is to be attributed on the one hand to the government's success in reducing the incidence of mass killer diseases which has halved the mortality rate in 40 years. On the other hand, there is the corresponding failure to reduce the high crude birth rate. Our demographic failures are reflected in the high dependency ratio (92), abnormal fertility rate (6.4) and the phenomenal infant mortality rate (108 per 1000 live births).

There is no denying that the country is heading for a population explosion. The impact of a large population is already being felt. It has neutralised the gains of the limited socio-economic progress the country has made. The investments of the past decades notwithstanding, our literacy rate remains a lowly 30 percent, and only 55 percent of the people have access to health care, 44 percent to clean water and 20 percent to sanitation. Given the overall resource constraints, the situation can be expected to worsen in the coming years if the population growth rate does not slow down. The World Bank

has estimated that even with a lower growth rate Pakistan would have to spend Rs[rupees]92 billion on primary education in the year 2000 (against the Rs 23 billion spent last year on the entire education sector) to maintain the 1984-85 level of school enrolment.

These bleak statistics taken from the UNDP's Human Resources Development Report should not come as a disclosure to the government. Yet, population remains one of the most neglected sectors in Pakistan. In fact, at one stage during the eighties, the government-controlled media considered the family planning issue taboo. The result is that the programme such as we have has been a failure in every respect. In the first place, little effort has been made to create the socio-economic conditions in which a family planning programme can take root. The status of women continues to be low, and education has made no headway as a result of which social attitudes have not been modified sufficiently to bring about behavioural changes. This negative milieu has only intensified the weaknesses of the population programme.

The three key areas, namely communication strategy, motivation campaign and contraceptive services, have suffered from a lack of political commitment, planning direction and financial resources. The approach is too half-hearted to make an impact. Neither has a real effort been made to reach out to the people and motivate them. The welfare centres that have been set up for the purpose are too few in number and too static in their approach to be very effective. In any case, little is being done to involve the people in the programme although their participation and cooperation is fundamental to its success. Even the contraceptive delivery network is not widespread and efficient enough to meet the needs of the small minority that has received the family planning message. It is the political commitment that is missing. In fact the high foreign aid component of the population programme budget gives the impression that whatever is being done in the field is under pressure from foreign donors. It is time the government mustered the necessary political will to tackle the population problem with determination and singlemindedness.

Physicians' Help Sought

91AS1212D Karachi DAWN in English 13 Jul 91 p 3

[Text] Karachi, 12 July—The Sindh Minister for Population Welfare, Mr. Ahmed Ali Jalbani, has emphasised the family physicians' role in checking population growth by acquainting the families with the importance of family planning.

The minister was speaking at a one-day medical seminar on family planning contraceptive technology, organised by the Paasban Family Planning Association of Pakistan, at a local hotel.

The population growth, he said, had become a complicated issue with rising births, morbidity and mortality,

and added that the population of the country would reach 155 million by the year 2001, from the present over 104 million.

The Minister admitted that the present system of family planning was not adequate. However, he appealed to the women, present on the occasion, to play their role in checking population growth.

"We should promote a family of two or three children and if we don't do that the country will have a disastrous future," the Minister for Population Welfare said.

He assured his Ministry's fullest cooperation in keeping the size of the family at the minimum level.

Earlier, Dr. Qamar Zaman, Consultant Gynaecologist at the Fatima Memorial Hospital for Women and Children, Lahore, and a volunteer with the Family Planning Association of Pakistan and presently chairman of the Medical Committee of the Association, in his key-note address said it is the professional as well as moral responsibility of a family physician to help prevent the occurrence of a disease in a family.

The cost in terms of money and dislocation of the family is tremendous if a preventable disease like measles or diphtheria occurs, he said.

He said 30,000 mothers die each year during child-birth and, in addition, maternity morbidity like anaemia, ill health, fistula etc. are there but the incidence of these cannot be properly documented in our country due to lack of facilities.

Dr. Zaman said adoption of family planning methods can prevent up to 30 percent of maternal morbidity and mortality.

Through the help of slides, Dr. Zaman said that Pakistan's population in 1947 was 32.5 million and in 2006 it would be about 180 million, the crude birthrate in 1901 was 46 per 1,000 and crude deathrate in 1901 44.4 per 1,000 population and in 1986 it came down to 10 per 1,000.

The use of contraceptives in the world in 1990 was 57 percent and in Pakistan it was only 9 percent. The levels of contraceptive use among currently married women (15-49 years) is lowest in the region with 8 percent, while it is 62 percent in Sri Lanka, 15 percent in Nepal, 39 percent in India and 25 percent in Bangladesh.

According to the statistics presented by Dr. Qamar Zaman, the world population growth since 1901 has been three times but in Pakistan it has been six times. The average family size worldwide is 3.5 in 1990 and in Pakistan it is 5.6.

The fertility rate is the highest in Pakistan among the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries with 5.9 while the lowest, 2.7, is in Sri Lanka.

The population of Urban Karachi is at present 8 million and in 2006 it would be 18 million.

He said 33 percent of the population, about 36.3 million, live below the poverty line.

With 26 percent literacy rate in Pakistan, it is again the lowest in the region and in the Far East. The literacy rates for other countries are Singapore 92 percent, China 86 percent, Sri Lanka 90 percent, Burma 66 percent, and India 36 percent.

The maternal mortality in Pakistan in 1980 was 600 per 100,000 births and in Sri Lanka it is only 90 per 100,000 births. In Pakistan only 24 percent of births are attended by trained health staff.

The steps that he recommended to achieve small family norm was a dramatic increase in female literacy rate, full and committed involvement of the entire medical profession.

The other speakers on the occasion were Dr. Gul Rashida, Principal, Regional Training Institute, Hyderabad; Dr. Abdul Majeed Memon, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Civil Hospital, Karachi; Dr. Sadqa Jaffery, Professor and head of Department, Gynaecology and Obstetrics, Jinnah Postgraduate Medical Centre; Dr. Shahbana Zaeem, Medical Officer, Family Planning Department, OPD, JPMC; Dr. Safia Ghous, Deputy Secretary, RHE Department, Population Welfare Division, Karachi.

The welcome address was presented by Mr. S.A. Khan, Co-Convener Paasban, FPAP Karachi Zone. The programme was conducted by Ms. Anjuam Niaz.

Sharif Addresses Issue

91AS1212E Karachi DAWN in English 12 Jul 91 p 11

[Text] Islamabad, 11 July—Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif held out an assurance on Thursday that the IJI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] Government would meet the challenge of population growth with a firm resolve, which was a difficult but not an impossible task.

He was inaugurating a national conference held at the Prime Minister's Secretariat auditorium here to observe the World Population Day.

The conference was attended, among others, by the National Assembly speaker, deputy chairman of Senate, federal ministers, MNAs [Member of National Assembly], senators, ambassadors, foreign delegates etc.

The prime minister said: "Our commitment to population welfare is clearly evident from the fact that in the recently announced federal budget, unlike other programmes, population planning has received no cut."

A key to the success of population welfare programmes was the level of motivation of the people, the prime minister said, adding that they needed to be educated and motivated in this regard.

The prime minister said the Population Planning Ministry would do well to enlist the support of all sections of society. The elected representatives, particularly at the level of councillors, would be a source of great help and strength, he added.

The elected representatives were involved in the Tameer-i-Watan Programme, which could perhaps be extended to also include the population welfare programme, he said, urging the non-governmental organisations to extend their activities to smaller towns and villages where 70 percent of the population lived.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif said: "We have representative governments at the centre and in the four provinces who are working in unison and in harmony and this is the best chance to lead the programme to success."

The programme must, however, be implemented by the provincial governments, and he was confident they would lend their support to the concerned federal ministry, he said.

The financial bonanza that came their way as a result of the recent NFC award, would be wiped away unless they implemented the programme successfully in their respective provinces, he observed.

The population planning was at once an important and a sensitive undertaking and it had to be handled with care and tact, encouraging people to think and to bring about a change in their outlook, the prime minister said.

He expressed the hope that the conference would lead to realistic and practicable recommendations.

"A better standard of living is the right of our people and the IJI Government is determined to bring it within their reach," he said.

Role of Media: Referring to the role of media in resolving this issue, the prime minister hoped that the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would produce effectively audio visual programmes for the purpose, in harmony with our religious and cultural values.

Similarly, the education sector will have to play an effective role in the execution of this important programme. Population welfare could be achieved through population management and planning and only a reasonable growth in population could ensure growth in standards of living, he said.

Rise in Population: The prime minister said the population growth had a direct impact on national progress and development and indeed on the well-being of the people.

Population in Pakistan was growing at a rate of 3.1 percent and our population today stood at nearly 115 million. At the current rate of growth, it would double in the next 23 years, he added.

"Even if we succeed in doubling our food output, schools and colleges, hospitals and clinics, roads and highways

and the number of housing units, the standards of living of our people would not have improved a bit at the end of the year 2014," the prime minister said.

The IJI, he said, went to the people seeking their votes with a clear commitment to bring relief to the needy, to provide basic necessities of life to every citizen, to raise their standards of living, to expand employment opportunities and to extend education and health care.

"But we knew that the high rate of population growth would be the biggest obstacle in our way. We had, therefore, promised to the people that on the way to socio-economic progress, we shall follow a policy of population welfare, bringing down the rate of population increase from the present 3.1 percent to 2.5 percent within this decade," he said.

The prime minister expressed the confidence that all those who were associated with the population welfare programme, both in the public and private sectors, would help government achieve that objective.

Editorials View BCCI Collapse

Result of 'Conspiracy'

91AS1213A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
16 Jul 91 p 12

[Article by Babar Ayaz: "Taking Stock of the BCCI Lynching"]

[Text] A wave of anguish and resentment has swept the country over the collusive ambush on the BCCI's [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] assets by a gang of central banks led by the Bank of England [BOE]. Barring a few, almost everybody in Pakistan is convinced that BCCI has fallen victim to some conspiracy hatched by Senator Cranston lobby in America and executed by the BOE. Luxembourg and Grand Cayman just followed the maestro.

In Pakistan, the murder of BCCI has claimed equal newspaper coverage and, if not more, has definitely not invoked less fury among the people than witnessed recently on the Islamabad mass murder. It is not the closure of bank only but an emotional issue for the educated populace of Pakistan, which felt proud of establishing and running the world's seventh-largest privately-owned bank. What is hard to swallow here is that the bank assets have been frozen on the charge of massive fraud. "No bank in the world has been ever shot down even if a fraud is proved in a court of law," a senior European banker said here the other day. "In this case," he added "the bank has been hanged before the charges were even proved in the court."

In any case, all banks are covered against frauds by insurance. In the case of BCCI it may be argued that its major insurer was also a Pakistani company. But the fact remains that all insurance business is further reinsured.

In this case a major reinsurer were a reputed Italian company Assicurazioni Generali.

Many years back a common charge against the fast growing BCCI in the Western banking circle was that its ownership is not established. The secrecy which shrouded the BCCI shareholders bothered them, but even this issue was resolved when last year the Abu Dhabi ruling family bought over its majority share and it was well-known that 77 per cent shares are now with solid investors.

Bankers here believe that it was this change and the move by the BCCI to revamp the bank into three subsidiaries, with a holding company in Abu Dhabi, that made the Western financial circles apprehensive about the future growth of the BCCI.

With the backing of the Abu Dhabi rulers and the bank revamped into three subsidiaries having presence in 63 countries, a distinction not enjoyed by many other banks, and the possibility of it becoming a bank for all Arab petro-dollar, BCCI could have been a real threat for the competition. It was perhaps the major reason to hurry with the closure in the name of protecting small depositors' interest, as once its holding company head office would have moved out to Abu Dhabi, they couldn't have touched it. After all, all assassinations are done to further some greater cause.

While the people here have material and social reasons for not accepting the Bank of England's explanations, both the government and the State Bank of Pakistan [SBP] have for financial and political reasons defied the international trend and have allowed the three branches of BCCI in Pakistan to operate under strict supervision of SBP.

Listening to the Cayman Island can prove very expensive not only for thousands of depositors in Pakistan, but to the government also. BCCI's foreign currency deposits in Pakistan were in the region of 300 million dollars. If this amount is frozen as suggested by the Grand Cayman Central Bank, which has for the first in its history closed a firm registered in this tiny-island for alleged fraud, it would hurt the country's foreign exchange position seriously.

A rash action by the government of Pakistan could hurt its relationship with the UAE [United Arab Emirates], again something it cannot afford for economic and political reasons. Now if Abu Dhabi decides to buy out BCCI overseas investments in Pakistan, it can have a sound bank which is capable of good profits. BCCI's balance sheet in Pakistan shows that it can exist on its own, if Grand Cayman is paid off.

Socially, closure of BCCI would render at least 4,000 Pakistani nationals unemployed and many more who are of Pakistan origin but have other nationalities also. In Pakistan alone it has 300 employees, who may be unemployed. There are very few chances of these people to be absorbed by other foreign banks because of the stigma

that they worked for a bank which was shut down on charges of a massive fraud. The only opening for them may be the fast proliferating Modarabas and leasing companies at home. But that would certainly mean bringing down their standard of living.

Besides individual suffering of the depositors, which were mainly Asians, and the employees, the smear propaganda campaign against the bank has damaged the image of Pakistani bankers and businessmen abroad. Even the liberal Luxembourg and Cayman Island authorities, who always welcomed the companies which were attracted to them for availing the tax exemptions and for maintaining secrecy, are reportedly acting like recently-converted Catholics, when it comes to Pakistani firms.

Poor Management Blamed

91AS1213B Lahore *THE NATION* in English
9 Jul 91 p 6

[Text] The Bank of Commerce and Credit International (BCCI) has been in trouble for some time. Some of its branches in the U.S. fell foul of the authorities when these were accused of laundering drug money. A few of Bank's local functionaries were arrested. While that was a major setback to its operation in the U.S., the Bank continued to function well in England, Europe and elsewhere. As ill luck would have it, however, Bank's founder Chairman, Agha Hassan Abidi, fell seriously ill, leaving a mammoth deficit behind him. The Bank was sold to UAE [United Arab Emirates] President, Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan, who held different views from Mr. Abidi on Bank's scope of work, feeling that some of the Bank's operations, particularly those in the fields of culture and literature, were wasteful. With the closure of

money branches and allied activities, extensive retrenchment of staff followed. Another blow was delivered by the Bank of England when it ordered freezing of all its assets in the UK and closing down of its branches. This was followed by closure of the Bank in about 14 countries, including the U.S., Japan, Germany, Spain and Luxembourg. Everywhere irregularities and in certain cases frauds, are said to have been discovered. Although in many cases, solvency was not the issue, in a few instances it was. The State Bank of Pakistan, however, has not found anything wrong with the Bank's operation in Pakistan and allowed it to continue here. The ruling family of Abu Dhabi, which happens to be the majority shareholder of the Bank, has stood by it. In sum, therefore, the chances of Bank's survival in Pakistan and some other places may not be quite bleak, though henceforth it may cater to a much smaller market.

Although certain Press reports are calling the whole affair a conspiracy by the West to destroy an institution built by the Muslims, it may not really be all the truth. The BCCI built and sustained by an able and enterprising leadership from Pakistan and it earned a foothold in the Western financial market through sheer dint of hard work of many young Pakistanis, but then comes the story of its own weaknesses. One cannot but feel sorry for thousands of its workers, who lost their jobs and whose promising careers are in shambles, but for that they have only to blame an unscrupulous management. Many of its senior functionaries in their overzealous dealings with the big shots in Pakistan and the Middle East, never allowed considerations of ethnics and personal morality to come in their way. Rules were broken or bent to satisfy their profit making whims. Some of the beneficiaries of such deals are still in responsible positions in Pakistan. They owe an explanation to the people of Pakistan in general and the innocent victims of their misdeeds in particular, for bringing such a promising institution to its present state of disarray.

Country Becomes Latest Arms Exporter

91AS0959A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu
19 April 91 p 8

[Article: "Pakistan Joins Ranks of Countries Exporting Arms"]

[Text] Islamabad (MASHRIQ Report)—Pakistan has become one of the top ten countries exporting ammunition and arms. Until 1990, Pakistan was one of those countries that imported ammunition and related technology from the United States of American, Britain, and other countries. No announcement about Pakistan's joining the countries exporting arms and ammunition was made prior to it. Pakistan is negotiating exporting arms and ammunition to some friendly Islamic countries. It is expected that Pakistan will be able to start exporting ammunition and related technology to some Islamic and friendly nations by the end of this year. It is already exporting ammunition to one country. According to our source, Pakistan has stopped importing missiles and ammunition. All ammunition used in tanks and cannons is being manufactured in the Wah factory. It should be remembered that Mirza Aslam Baig had told military officers a few month ago that 98 percent of the ammunition used by Pakistan's armed forces was prepared in this country and Pakistan might be able to earn one to 1.4 billion rupees because of this great success. This progress is a great step toward the goal of self-sufficiency. According to the source, the most recent kind of ammunition will be prepared in Wah factory soon and announcement about it will be made in the near future. The source added that due to several reasons nothing specific can be said about the technology.

Self-Sufficiency in Defense Area Viewed

91AS0959E Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu
19 April 91 p 11

[Editorial: "Export of Arms"]

[Text] According to a report, Pakistan is one of the 10 countries that export arms and ammunition. Until last year, Pakistan was one of the countries that imported arms and ammunition from the United States, China, United Kingdom, and other countries. The measures that our military leadership had started a few years ago to reach the goals of self-sufficiency should be lauded. Other organizations that worked with the armed forces in helping the nation become independent in defense area also deserve congratulations. Self-reliance in the area of defense has become very important now that Pakistan is facing suspension of U.S. aid. Several production groups such as Wah Ordinance factories, Heavy Rebuild factory in Texila, Qadeer Khan Research Laboratories, and Kamra Complex are working round the clock producing defense implements. Pakistan has developed effective weapons such as Hatf one, Hatf two, Ghiza, Labaraz Rangefinder on its own and will start producing Alkhalid tanks in June. Pakistani armed

forces will have the assurance of having enough ammunition in any challenging situation. The G-3 rifles manufactured in Pakistan have already caught the attention of the whole world. A smaller and lighter version of this rifle has also now been designed. All kinds of arms and ammunition are being produced in Pakistan for our armed forces and now Pakistan is in a position to export arms and ammunition to its friendly nations. According to an estimate, Pakistan will be able to earn between 10 and 14 billion rupees in foreign exchange. This is some thing we should be proud of, however, we should not become complacent thinking that we have reached our goals. The modern warfare has become very complex and the Kuwait war has proved that rifles, machine guns, tanks, and armored vehicles are of secondary importance now. The real war is won by long-range weapons. Pakistan should prepare itself for the demands of the future and should not be satisfied with producing traditional weapons. Pakistan's greatest need is a nuclear deterrent without which it cannot defend itself from a military attack by a large country like India.

Janjua's Appointment Welcomed as Timely

91AS1092D Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
13 Jun 91 pp 1, 10

[Article by A.B.S. Jafri]

[Text] Government in Pakistan have seldom managed to do the right thing at the right time. The timely announcement of the successors to Chairman of the Committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Army Chief therefore provides more than sufficient reason for not mere relief, but jubilation. Given our history, these appointments have come to have a uniqueness about them. A sort of halo, so to say. The past weeks saw a spate of speculation, nearly all of which was kite-flying but inevitable manifestation of our warped attitudes. The President and the Prime Minister deserve to be complimented for their decision to act in the most appropriate manner. There is everything to be said to commend the choice they have made and the moment they have chosen to make it public. All speculation must end now. And those who have been indulging in it had better realize how awfully off the mark most of them have been.

As one extends a warm and unqualified welcome to Gen Shamim Alam Khan and Gen Asif Nawaz Janjua to the high positions they so eminently merit, and wish them every success, it is time also to say how well the people appreciate and value the services rendered by Admiral Iftikhar Ahmed Sirohey and Gen Aslam Beg in their respective assignments. Gen Beg's tenure at the top of Pakistan Army has been historic and, the nation is so glad to note, very wholesomely so. He did a splendid job of restoring the image of Pakistan Army as a professional fighting force, unerringly devoted to a constant process of self-improvement and totally disabused of any exaggerated notions of self-importance or self-righteousness. And surely no illusions of grandeur or ideas incongruent with professional pride and political propriety. He has

remained very largely a model of rectitude, barring a rare digression apparently in search of some intellectual stimulation.

To Gen Beg history will give credit for Pakistan's restoration to rule of law and the company of politically civilized nations. Even if he was not exclusively alone in performing this duty of upholding the dignity of democratic self-determination of 110 million people of Pakistan. This is, of course, not to forget than Gen Beg's exemplary conduct just could not have been otherwise because by the fateful seventeenth day of August 1988, the infallibility of any particular class or individual had been unarguably established as a myth morons would not care to have anything to do with. He did what the purest common sense demanded of him. And by doing that he at once elevated himself, and the force he was at that moment called upon to lead, to the place of pride that is rightfully theirs.

Gen Shamim Alam Khan and Gen Asif Nawaz Janjua have behind them illustrious careers and what lies ahead only has to be more so, given their educative and enlightened grooming for their respective assignments. Time is a great teacher. Hard times inculcate invaluable wisdom. We have had the benefit of learning from both. There is a certain kind of baggage which we have shed. It

had better stay part of our past and let us have the good sense not to repeat our errors. The wise say forgive him who commits a mistake once.

There is no forgiveness for him who commits the same mistake twice. What would the verdict of the wise be for one who should commit the same mistake a fourth time over? However clearly misplaced the apprehension, it happens to be natural, nonetheless.

For those on whose shoulders must lie the onerous burden of ensuring the security of this country in days to come, some truly soul-testing task is what the relentless future holds. The environment without is uncertain and within alarming, to put it mildly. It is all to the good that Gen Janjua doesn't need any introduction to what lawlessness gone wild can be like. He has also to contend with the fast-moving defence technology. Perhaps the most demanding and exciting test for the next chief of the Army would be a journey in the uncharted direction of self-reliance and indigenization of defence production. There is no going back to the old ways. Pakistan has crossed the Rubicon. And that makes Gen Janjua's assignment even more demanding than his path-breaking predecessor's was. Good luck is what the people of Pakistan open-heartedly offer the new man in.

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